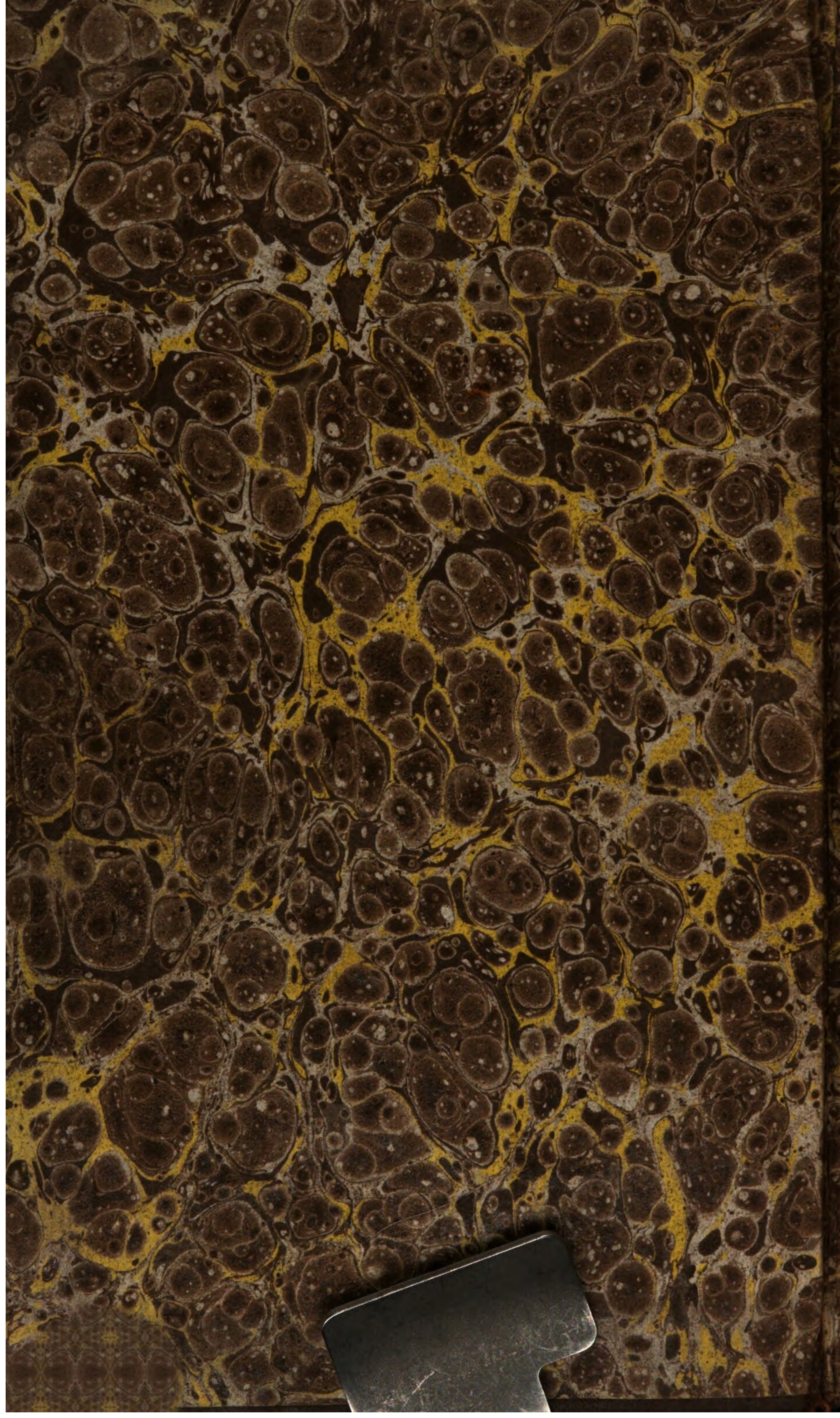
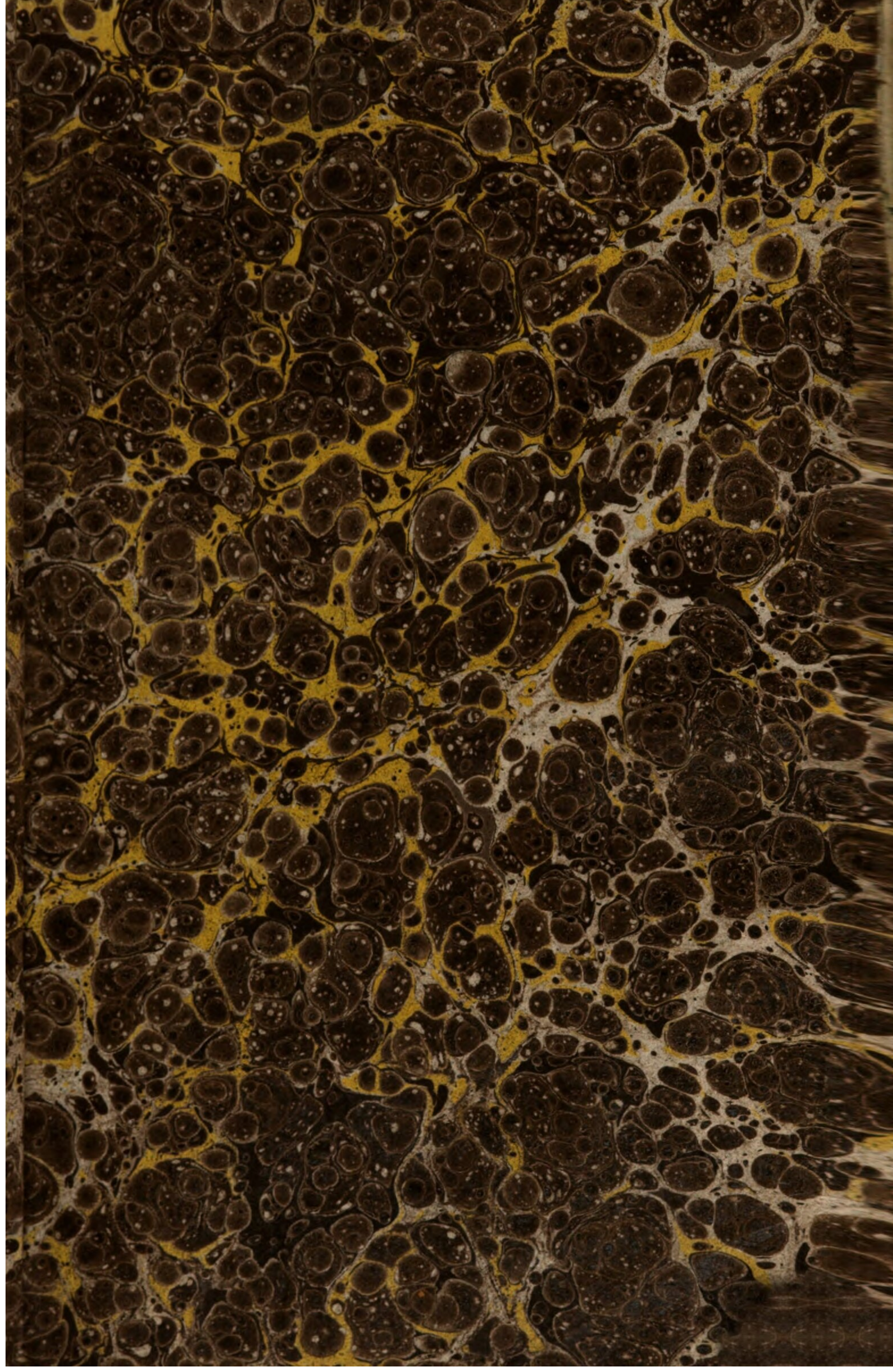






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THE
HISTORY
OF
GREECE,

FROM THE
ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER OF MACEDON,
TILL ITS
FINAL SUBJECTION TO THE ROMAN POWER;
IN EIGHT BOOKS.

By JOHN GAST, D. D.
ARCHDEACON OF GLANDELAGH.

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P R E F A C E.

TH E annals of Greece include , perhaps , the most interesting and instructive portion of the History of Man. They exhibit the gradual progress of a people , from the rudeness of savage life to the perfection of refinement and civility. They mark the steps by which this illustrious part of mankind advanced to the first rank among the families of the earth ; although they were inconsiderable in numbers , in riches , and in the extent or fertility of territory. Surmounting the disadvantages of their situation , they disputed the prize of empire with the great powers of Asia ; and bore away the palm of arts as well as arms from the nations of the East , who for ages had possessed it unrivalled and uncontrolled. But while we admire the Greeks as distinguished by signal achievements , and dignified by every noble exertion of the human mind , we remark with pain , even in the zenith of their glory , the approaching decline of public virtue , and are led to contemplate the bold incroachments of venality and discord, which

reduced by degrees this extraordinary people to the most abject state of servitude and insignificance.

Struck with these revolutions of fortune, we cannot fail to derive from them an ample source of instruction. They point out and illustrate the sure means of advancing the prosperity and happiness of nations. The age of glory to Greece was the age of virtuous manners. Corrupted by success, her prosperity departed from her. The diversities of her story, amidst the passions they excite, bespeak forcibly the superintendency of a Divine Providence, and inculcate the important truth, that happiness is the reward of virtue, and misery the consequence of vice.

When surveyed in a proper light, the history of ancient times is the school of wisdom. To form a just estimate of the manners and institutions of nations now subsisting, is a task which is always difficult, and often invidious. In judging of events too near the present day, we are apt to be misled by our prejudices. The springs of action are, in general, hid from our observation; and we are under the necessity of reasoning from views that are confined and partial. The transient operation of some incidental circumstance is often mistaken for a first cause; and we praise or condemn measures of which we know not the principle, and

cannot ascertain the tendency. The case, however, of nations who have run their career is very different. We have before us the whole line of their history. We behold the rise, the progress, and the termination of their fortunes. We discover the advantages and the defects of their polity, and can unfold the mistakes of their rulers. We observe the coincidence of conduct and success which exalted them to power; and can trace the degeneracy and misfortunes which hastened their decline. Unbiaſſed by connexion, and undistracted by opposition of interests, truth alone becomes the object of our curiosity and search. Unawed by station, we call to account the proudest prince; and unsuspected of flattery, we bestow upon every gallant deed the full portion of glory which it merits.

But while these advantages apply to the transactions of the Greeks, there is another favorable circumstance which attended them. Greece abounded in excellent writers; in generals, philosophers, and statesmen; and by these the memorials of her history have been transmitted to posterity. Of such men the compositions cannot be sufficiently esteemed. They enjoyed a share in the councils of their country; they acted a part in the scenes they describe; they were fully informed concerning

the laws and the constitutions of the states whose fates they record; they had the honesty and the boldness to detect and expose the errors from which any public misfortune had arisen; and often, at the peril of their lives, they resisted and repressed the passionate excesses of a capricious and misguided multitude.

There are five periods into which the History of Greece may be divided.

I. The first period, during which Greece may be considered as emerging into life, extends from the earliest accounts of the foundation of its states to the expulsion of the Pisistratidae; and includes a space of about six hundred years. In this period, independently of the Argonautic expedition, and of many heroic achievements which are involved in the darkness of fable, there are comprehended the institution of the Amphictyonic council, the Trojan war, the legislations of Minos, of Lycurgus, of Solon, and what chiefly contributed to form the Grecian character, the establishment of the liberties of Athens.

II. The second period is properly the age of glory of the Grecian people; and takes in about sixty years. It commences with the ejection of the Pisistratidae, and closes with the death of Cimon. It is adorned with the noble exertions of the Greeks

against the Persian power, at Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plateae, and Eurymedon.

III. The third period comprises about one hundred and fourteen years, from the death of Cimon to that of Philip of Macedon. Here the prospect is obscured. The power and opulence which Greece had purchased by her victories, introduced ostentation, luxury, and insolence. Her states, relieved from the terror of a foreign enemy, divided against each other; and, instead of being animated with a generous zeal for the public happiness, were pervaded and disgraced by dissolute pleasures, an oppressive spirit, and the lust of dominion. It was now that Greece began to decline. But her wealth, her magnificence, the arts in which she excelled, the perfection of her drama, her skill and advancement in philosophy, in eloquence, and in literature, the polish of her manners, and the elegance of her taste, continued to give her the appearance of importance and of vigor. Her real strength, however, was decayed; and the disasters that ensued, first in the course of the Peloponnesian war; afterwards at Leuctra and Mantinea; and at length at Chaeronea; were the natural calamities which a people might expect, who had given way to ruinous dissipations, who were broken into factions, and who were false to themselves.

IV. The fourth period extends from the accession of Alexander the Great, the founder of the empire of the Greeks, as it is sometimes called, to the first interference of the Romans in the affairs of Greece. In this eventful period a total revolution of interests was produced. The overthrow of the Persian empire by the arms of Macedon, which the Prophets had announced, gave a beginning to the busy scene; and Alexander's fortunes, as it had been foretold, terminated here; his kindred and posterity having perished. Instead of enjoying any advantage from his conquests, they were perhaps undone by them. Nor did his achievements operate to the prosperity of Greece, or even of Macedon. Depopulation, a disputed throne, and the repeated inroads of enemies, brought Macedon to the brink of destruction. Intestine divisions, and a general decay of virtue reduced Greece from a state of splendor to a condition the most contemptible. One commonwealth, that of Achaia, was all that remained; and though it had formerly been little known, its improved polity, and unbroken manners, might have rendered it the bulwark of Greece. This, however, was prevented by the jealousy of its turbulent neighbours. Envious of its growing power, they provoked a war in which all Greece was soon involved, and

which at last invited the Roman ambition, and effected the ruin of this unhappy country. From the accession of Alexander to the entry of the Romans into Greece, there elapsed one hundred and twenty-four years.

V. The period which closes the melancholy prospect of the Grecian decline, comprehends the several plans of avowed hostility and of disguised perfidiousness, which the Romans employed in order to subject and accustom this illustrious people to the yoke of servitude. It includes their wars, affected lenity, and insidious conventions with the princes of Macedon, until they had brought that kingdom to a final submission; their treatment of the Aetolians, and of the Epirots; their memorable treachery to Achaia; the burning of Corinth; the utter extinction of liberty in Greece; the various calamities which flowed from Roman oppression, or the incursions of barbarians, during the long period of sixteen hundred years, till the taking of Constantinople by the Othmans delivered this unfortunate country into the hands of other tyrants; and finally, the condition in which the abject race, who now bear the name of Greeks, are to be found at this day, under the cruel and humiliating scourge of despotism.

The two last of these periods compose the subject

of the present undertaking, upon which the Author has employed the pains and the industry that correspond with its importance. It does not, however, become him to affirm, that his abilities were equal to the task in which he has been engaged; and while he submits himself with diffidence to the judgment of the public, he knows and respects its impartiality. During the course of his labors, he has pleased himself with the reflection, that a sincere desire of contributing to the prosperity of his country was impressed upon his mind; and he felt himself to be animated with the hope, that the errors and misfortunes of other nations and other times might induce his fellow-citizens to set the higher value upon a constitution which has freedom for its object, and which protects and supports the natural and inherent rights of mankind.

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with the priests of the Oracle, and pretends to be a God — Gives battle to Darius at Gangamela — Defeats him with great slaughter.

B O O K

I.

Sect. I.

Abilities of
Philip of
Macedon.

THE deep policy of Philip of Macedon, and the artful use he made of the mutual jealousies and contests of the several Grecian States, of the venality of their orators and leaders, and of that decay of public spirit which was become general throughout Greece, had, during the course of his reign¹, raised the Macedonian kingdom to a degree of power far beyond what its late humility of fortune seemed to promise. His military character was little inferior to his political. And if, to the sagacity of the statesman and the vigor of the warrior, he had joined those virtues which give to the regal dignity its brightest lustre, all remains of independence had probably been lost to the Grecian people.

His private
character.

Philip's own misconduct prevented it. Intemperate in the pursuit of sensual gratifications, he had, for some time before his death, rendered his court a scene of strife and distraction. In order to wed Cleopatra, a young Princess of whom he happened to be enamoured, he had endeavoured to throw suspicions on his wife Olympias. His son Alexander, impatient of his mother's wrongs, he had driven from his presence, and forced him to seek for refuge among the enemies of his country. From his partiality to the creatures of his young queen, he had treated with neglect some of his most faithful servants; and

¹ He reigned about twenty-four years.

at last, by his iniquitous protection of one of his new favorites, he provoked the blow which put an end to his life. Pausanias, a young Macedonian of noble birth, had been injured in a most sensible manner by one of Cleopatra's kinsmen, and upon applying to the king for justice, had found his complaint disregarded. Pride, mortification, and resentment, rendered him desperate. He marked his opportunity; and as Philip, on a day of public festivity, was entering into the theatre, he plunged a dagger into his heart. There are historians who pretend, that he was encouraged to this deed of violence by some of the king's own family; and that his accomplices were numerous². But neither the one nor the other seems

B O O K

I.

Sect. I.

His death.

² The death of Philip seems to have furnished much matter of accusation, which the voice of faction, of private animosity, and even of ambition, occasionally employed against whatever persons they thought it was their interest to destroy, or to blacken. When Alexander invaded Asia, he charged (Arrian, l. ii. c. 14.) the Persian court with the guilt of it, alledging it as one of the injuries that had called him forth against Darius. At the same time, Alexander himself did not escape; and, in the treatment he had received from his father, and the spirit with which he had resented it, his enemies discovered reasons sufficient for suspecting, that he had shared in a crime, to which he owed his security, and the throne he was in possession of. The like suspicions had place against Olympias; and her passionate excesses strengthened them. Severely injured by the late king, and of a temper violent and vindictive, she saw, with exultation, in Philip's death, the overthrow of a faction which had insulted her, and of a rival whom she abhorred. His fall was her triumph, and she indulged it. With her own hands she placed a golden crown on the head of his assassin, when hanging on the gibbet, and consecrated the very dagger which had

B O O K to be true. Possibly some persons, obnoxious on other accounts, may have been involved in the
I. suspicion; and, to have rejoiced at the success of
Sect. I. the crime, which, doubtless, was the case with many, may have been considered as an argument of their having shared in the guilt.

Temper of
the nations
bordering on
Macedon, at
the time of
Alexander's
accession.

The abilities and enterprising spirit of Philip, had rendered him the terror of his neighbours. They hastened to avail themselves of the favorable change of circumstances, which his death, the defenceless state of Macedon, the embarrassments and the supposed inexperience of his successor, presented to their view. The Thracian borderers, who had been lately reduced, threw off the yoke. Illyricum followed the example. In Thessaly, all was in commotion: and such was the ferment throughout the rest of Greece, as seemed evidently to forebode a total revolution of interests.

State of affairs
in Macedon.

At home also, the Macedonian affairs were in much confusion; most of the chief men being either suspected of treasonable practices, or prosecuting private animosities one against another. The blow which had proved fatal to Philip, was supposed to have come from a formidable party, of which Pausanias was only the instrument. The princes of the blood had each their pretensions. Olympias had her

drank his blood in the temple of one of her gods. Historians have often pronounced from slighter proofs. Such a decided conduct was considered as an unquestionable argument of her having directed the blow she rejoiced in; of which, however, had she been really guilty, probably she had been more artful in disguising her sentiments. — See Just. l. ix. c. 7.

adherents: the young queen Cleopatra hers. And the uncle of the latter, Attalus, who, together with Parmenio, had the command of the forces in Asia, was said to entertain the most ambitious and criminal views³. B O O K
I.
Sect. I.

Alexander perceived the dangers that threatened him without being dismayed. He began his reign with revenging his father's death; he suppressed different factions that threatened the domestic peace of his kingdom; and contrived to have Attalus taken off, before he could carry his designs, whatever they were, into execution. Vigorous
measures
pursued by
Alexander.

Greece employed his attention next. The Thessalians had possessed themselves of the defiles, which lay between their country and Macedon. He eluded them, by passing over the craggy top of mount Ossa; and was already in Thessaly, before it was imagined he had entered upon his march. Without loss of time, he proceeded to the Corinthian isthmus, where the general convention of the States of Greece was held, and laid before them his claim, requiring, that they should appoint him Captain-general against the Persians, with the same powers they had granted to his father. Most of the Grecian States were secretly inimical to his interest. The deputies of Sparta, nevertheless, were the only persons in this assembly who had the firmness to avow their sentiments. "The Lacedæmonians," said they, "are accustomed to lead the way to glorious exploits, not to follow" Baffles the
people of
Thessaly,
and enters
Greece.

³ See Arrian, l. i. c. 1 & seq. Diod. Sic. l. xvii. Justin, l. xi. Plutarch. in Alexand. & Demosthene.

B O O K

I.

Sect. 1.

Is appointed
Captain-gene-
ral against the
Persians.
Reduces the
Barbarian
tribes to the
north of
Macedon.

“the lead of others.” Their representations, however, had little weight. The presence of the young King, the activity and vigor he had displayed, together with his insinuating address, made all opposition fall before him⁴.

Alexander returned with expedition to the north, in order to secure his frontier on the side of Thrace. The Thracians were a fierce people, of remarkable strength of body, whose dwellings were in fastnesses and mountains exceedingly high, and difficult of access. Alexander attacked and dispossessed them of their strong holds; and reduced them to the necessity of submitting to what terms he was pleased to impose. These terms, in appearance void of severity, show, that, to the spirit of the young warrior, Alexander had already joined the profound policy of the old chieftain. He required, that their principal leaders, with a chosen body of their bravest men, should attend his banners; thus strengthening himself with the accession of the most warlike people then known, and at the same time taking with him the surest pledges of their future fealty⁵. The adjacent nations, the Triballi, the Getæ, and the several Celtic tribes on both sides of the Danube, he attacked in the same vigorous manner, and with the like success⁶. Thence he moved on to Illyricum. The

⁴ Olymp. cxi. 1. Before Christ 336.

⁵ Frontin. Stratagem. l. ii. c. 11.

⁶ Alexander asked the Celtes, “What they feared most?” He expected, it seems, a compliment; but these rough sons of freedom made answer, “They had no fear but one, lest the sky should fall on them.” Pleased with their

Illyrians had assembled a powerful force, and stood prepared to meet him; they were nevertheless totally defeated, and Clytus, their King, who had encouraged the defection, was obliged to abandon his kingdom, and take refuge among the neighbouring Barbarians.

B O O K
I.
Sect. I.

During these transactions, a report prevailed, that Alexander had fallen in battle against the Illyrians. The Greeks in general, the Thebans and Athenians especially, received the tidings with an eager credulity, and the most intemperate joy. At Athens, the event was celebrated as the restoration of public liberty; the most spirited decrees were proposed; and the Macedonian name was treated with great indignity. At Thebes, they proceeded still farther. Cadmea, the citadel, was garrisoned by Macedonians. The Thebans put immediately to the sword all the Macedonian officers they could seize; and having summoned the garrison to surrender, upon refusal, laid siege to the citadel.

Report of his
death.

Alexander had no left Illyricum, when the news of this revolt reached him. He instantly marched with the utmost expedition; and was within sight of Thebes before the Thebans would believe that he was alive. At first, he was unwilling to proceed to extremities, in hopes, that a sense of danger might induce the Thebans to adopt more moderate councils, and only demanded, that the promoters of the revolt should be delivered up. But perceiving that,

Alexander
marches to
Thebes;

spirit, he pronounced them his friends and confederates; adding, however, "the Celtes are a haughty people." Arrian, l. i. c. 4.

B O O K

I.

Sect. I.

takes it by
storm,

and levels it.

Generous
conduct of the
Athenians.The impres-
sion it makes
on Alexander.

instead of being reformed by this lenity, they treated him with greater insult, he at length gave a loose to his resentment; and having taken the city by storm, abandoned to military execution all those who were found in arms. The rest of the inhabitants he sold for slaves; the priests excepted, with those to whom the Macedonians were bound by the ties of hospitality; the descendents of Pindar, and such as had opposed the late tumultuous measures. It is said, that the number of Thebans thus doomed to slavery, amounted to thirty thousand. The city also the victor levelled with the ground, not suffering one building to be preserved, but the temples, and the house where Pindar had been born.

The manner in which the Athenians acted on this occasion, does them great honor. They were guilty, as well as the Thebans, and had every thing to fear from the victorious Macedonian. They nevertheless made public lamentations for the overthrow of Thebes, suspending on that account, even the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, the most highly revered festival at Athens; and afforded protection to all the Thebans that fled to them, notwithstanding Alexander's express injunction, "that no Grecian state should presume to give them shelter."

It is probable, the generous compassion which Athens exhibited to this unfortunate people, made an impression on the mind of Alexander himself. Historians observe, that, though at first he appeared much displeased, he afterwards received the embassy, which they sent to apologize for their disobedience, with marks of singular esteem. "Your Athenians,"

said he to Phocion, "should look to themselves; B O O K
 " for, were any misfortune to befall me, they alone, I.
 " of all the Greeks, are worthy to command". The Sect. 1.
 only punishment he inflicted on them, was, that
 they should banish Charidemus, and seven other Charidemus
 orators, who had been most active in stirring up the the orator is
 people. Upon a second application, he remitted banished.
 much even of this, contenting himself with the exile
 of Charidemus, the sharpness of whose invectives
 had given him particular offence'. Charidemus
 accordingly left Athens, and fled to the court of
 Persia. We shall have occasion to mention him
 hereafter.

The extreme severity with which the Thebans The fate of
 were treated, is not to be justified upon any ground, Thebes terri-
 perhaps, but that of political necessity. As an fies Greece.
 intimidating example, it undoubtedly had its
 use. Greece was thereby completely humbled:
 for whatever might be the secret inclinations of
 the different States, they saw it was not now the
 time to assert their liberties against a Prince, whose
 power was not to be resisted, and at whose hands
 no mercy was to be expected.

The affairs of Greece being thus composed, and Alexander
 the security of his kingdom provided for, Alexander prepares to
 found leisure to pursue his favorite plan of carrying pass into Asia.
 his arms into Asia. Little more than a year had elapsed
 since Philip's death, and already had his son, though
 but twenty years old when he ascended the throne,

⁷ Plutarch in Phocion.

⁸ Plutarch in Demosthene.

B O O K struck terror into the most formidable of the surrounding nations, and dissipated every league that
 I. Sect. I. had been formed against him. Upon his return to Macedon, he declared his intention of entering on the Persian war the ensuing spring. Parmenio and Antipater would have persuaded him to defer it, until he was married, and had male offspring; but Alexander was too eager for military glory to brook delay. It is also probable, that his situation did not admit of it. His forces were ripe for action; they had been formed by a succession of hardy achievements; and should they now be suffered to sink into inactivity, they might lose much of their present vigor. His finances, besides were nearly exhausted; and the very means of supporting such an army were only to be derived from the conquests he had in contemplation.

Settles the
 affairs of his
 kingdom.

The intervening winter was employed in making the necessary arrangements previous to his departure, and in settling the internal concerns of his kingdom. The attention he bestowed on these domestic matters, and the wisdom of his measures, speak him not less intelligent in the arts of peace than in the business of war. He had reason to fear, that some remains of disaffection were yet lurking in many parts of his dominions; and that the feuds, which had disturbed the beginning of his reign, might burst out afresh. He, therefore, made it his study to establish himself in the hearts of his people, to efface, if possible, every remembrance of party-distinction from among them, and to make them all conspire in advancing the public happiness and tranquillity. With this view, he appointed solemn festivals to be held

at Aegae⁹, which were celebrated with great magnificence, and to which all Macedon was invited. He afterwards distributed his whole patrimony among his friends and principal subjects; giving to one a village, to another a district of land, to a third a portion of the royal revenues. "What then do you reserve for yourself?" said Parmenio to him. "My hopes," answered the Prince. "Permit us then, who mean to share in your dangers," replied Parmenio, "to share also in your hopes;" and refused to accept the estate which Alexander would have bestowed on him. There were others who followed the example of Parmenio.

B O O K
I.
Sect. I.

Alexander next committed the regency of his kingdom to Antipater, an aged nobleman of distinguished abilities, who had been one of his father's chief counsellors; and provided a sufficient body of troops to answer any sudden emergency.

All things being now in readiness he prepared, upon the first opening of the spring, to pass the Hellespont. His whole army amounted to about thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, with provisions only for one month, and in the military chest there was no more than seventy talents¹⁰. Agreeable to this slender provision was his naval

⁹ Or Aegeae, *the city of the goats*; so called in memory of an old tradition, that Caranus, a prince of the house of Hercules, who first led a colony of Greeks into this country, and was the founder of the kingdom of Macedon, was conducted thither by a flock of goats, which the oracle had commanded him to follow. Justin L vii c. 1.

¹⁰ £. 13,562.10 s. 0 d. — Arbuthnot.

B O O K equipment, consisting mostly of transports, with
I. few ships of strength: the Macedonians having never
Sect. 1. had a powerful navy, the expense of which, indeed, they were not able to maintain. Yet from so inconsiderable a force as we have described, was the greatest empire of Asia to receive its overthrow.

The effect this expedition had in Greece

Upon Alexander's passing into Asia, all Greece seemed to have passed over with him, such an universal inactivity succeeded to the usual bustle of this busy nation; the hopes or fears of the several Grecian States turning to that important field, where their fortunes were now to be decided. If Alexander suffered discomfiture, Greece had still a chance for her liberties; if he proved victorious her subjection was inevitable. The history of Alexander at this period, is the history of Greece.

Inattention of the Persians.

It seems amazing, that the Persians, who could not but have intelligence of his designs, and might easily have covered the sea with fleets, made no attempt to interrupt him in his passage. But this devoted people were infatuated; of which their history, at this period, affords frequent instances.

Alexander lands in Asia.

Alexander, having landed without opposition, made it his first business to visit the ruins of Troy, and the monuments yet remaining of those heroes whom Homer had sung; as if to please his imagination with a view of the seat where Greece, in ancient days, had triumphed over the powers of Asia. In the same spirit, he caused games to be celebrated, and extraordinary honors to be paid, at the tombs of several of those illustrious Greeks who had fallen in that memorable war; particularly at the tomb of

Achilles, whom he numbered among his progenitors, and whose military character he affected to imitate. His situation, it might be imagined, called for other thoughts. But to a mind of such a temper as Alexander's, these scenes afforded allurements too powerful to be resisted.

Mean while, Darius's generals were divided in opinion about their plan of operations. Memnon of Rhodes, the ablest and most faithful officer in the Persian service, counselled to avoid battle with the Macedonians; and to lay waste the country, in order to deprive them of subsistence. Had this wise measure been adopted, Alexander had soon found himself in great perplexity. But the vain confidence of the other commanders, and their jealousy of Memnon, saved the Macedonians. Arsites, satrap of the lower Phrygia, vaunted that, "not the smallest village in his government should suffer inconvenience on account of this contemptible band of adventurers."

It was accordingly determined to wait for the Macedonians at the passage of the Granicus. And, if a battle was to be fought, it must be owned, the Persians could hardly have chosen their ground more advantageously. The Granicus is a deep and rapid river; its banks are steep; the soil crumbling; and its bottom, from the nature of the mud that covers it, exceedingly slippery¹¹. Across this river lay the way into Upper Phrygia. The Persians, besides, were far superior to Alexander in horse;

B O O K
I.
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Darius's generals are divided about their plan of operations.

Resolve to dispute the passage of the Granicus.

¹¹ See Tournefort, Voyage au Levant, Let. 22.

B O O K and it was not supposed, that the Macedonian in-
I. fantry could perform much service, from the una-
Sect. I. voidable delay that must be incurred in their passing
 the river.

Alexander, who had exact intelligence of the motions of his enemy, nevertheless held on his march¹². On sight of the enemy drawn up on the opposite bank, and of the difficulties to be surmounted before he could close with them, his generals began to be apprehensive of the issue, and would have dissuaded him from the attempt; beseeching him at least to delay the attack till next day. But Alexander saw, how disreputable to his arms, and therefore, how prejudicial to his affairs, any appearance of hesitation must prove at this juncture; and moving forward with his cavalry, he immediately commanded the forlorn hope to enter the river; he himself, amidst the acclamations of his army following at the head of the right wing, whilst Parmenio, at the same time, advanced at the head of the left. That his men, however, might not have both the rapidity of the current and the weight of the enemy to contend with, he with great judgment, instructed them not to go directly across, but to march obliquely down the stream, in order to have leisure to form, before they reached the opposite bank.

**Battle of the
 Granicus.**

The Persians were not wanting to themselves; and assisted by their situation, pressed on the Macedonians with such vigor, that the foremost ranks of the latter, found it impossible to carry the bank, and

¹² OLYMP. cxi. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 334.

were falling back in confusion. Alexander observed their distress, and rushing amidst the thickest of the enemy, restored the battle, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the Persians; who disputed the ground inch by inch, opposing man to man, and horse to horse; and having marked where the King fought, poured their bravest troops towards that quarter. Accordingly, several of the King's guards, and those nearest his person, were slain; and he himself, had it not been for the quickness and address of Clitus, had lost his life. For Rhoesaces, a Persian officer of distinction, having discharged his faulchion on the King's helmet, and cut off part of his crest; as Alexander turned upon him, Spithridates, another noble Persian, came up behind, which Clitus perceiving, he sprung forward, and with one blow severed the Persian's arm from his body, at the instant it was raised to strike the King. The perils to which Alexander had been exposed, served only to inspire him and his Macedonians with fresh ardor. They were now irresistible; and, bearing down all before them, obliged the Persians, who were breaking on every side, to betake themselves to flight. One body of infantry only remained, of about ten thousand Greek mercenaries; who, whether through amazement at the sudden discomfiture of their friends, or in hopes of obtaining favorable terms, continued on the field of battle. But Alexander, having com-
 manded his troops to surround them, put most of
 them to the sword, after they had, for some time, made a gallant resistance. Two thousand were taken prisoners, whom Alexander condemned to slavery,

The Persians
 defeated.

B O O K

I.

Sect. 1.

and transported into Macedon to be employed in the public works; to intimidate by this act of severity the Greeks from serving in the armies of the Persian King; whose best troops he knew were composed of such mercenaries.

Their strength.

What the numbers of the Persians were, upon this occasion, historians are not agreed; some making them amount to a hundred thousand; some to six hundred thousand. Arrian, whose relation seems to deserve most credit, makes the account much lower. According to him, the Persian cavalry amounted to twenty thousand, and their infantry nearly to the same number: of whom were slain two thousand five hundred of the cavalry; and of the infantry, ten thousand.

The numbers
of the Macedonians.

On the side of Alexander, there were five thousand horse, who, together with a few of the light-armed infantry, were the only part of the Grecian army that engaged; for the battle appears to have been over before the Macedonian phalanx had crossed the river.

Alexander's
gratitude.

Alexander took care, that his troops should see the sense he had of their gallant behaviour. One hundred and fifteen Macedonians had fallen. Orders were issued, that their families should enjoy the most ample privileges, and be for ever exempt from service and tribute. Of this number, twenty-five were of the King's guards, who fell in the beginning of the action, fighting around his person. Their memory he honored in a particular manner. Their

Honors paid to
the Greeks
who had fallen.

statues were cast in brass, and placed at Dium in Macedon; where Metellus, when the Romans subdued

subdued that country, found them, and removed them to Rome. B O O K

I.

The rest of the army were not forgotten. They received every recompence, which a victorious and grateful general could bestow; public acknowledgements, military honors, pecuniary rewards. He even visited in person the wounded, taking care that they should be treated with great attention and tenderness. Sect. I.
Recompences
the living.

He was also ambitious, that Greece should be fully informed of the success of his arms. Presents of the richest of the spoils were sent to Olympias and his Macedonian friends; and three hundred complete suits of armour to Athens, with suitable inscriptions, to be hung up in the temple of Minerva. Sends trophies
to Greece.

In justice to Alexander, it must be confessed, that to his conduct and spirited example, this victory is chiefly to be ascribed. It appears also, that many of the Persian chiefs acquitted themselves with great courage, and might have turned the fortune of the day, had they been properly supported. Memnon and his sons distinguished themselves among the foremost combatants, and for a time rendered the issue doubtful. That gallant commander, though the action had been brought on contrary to his sentiments and opinion, did what valor could perform, and retired only when he saw that all was lost. Arsites, by whose counsel the battle had been fought, was so deeply affected at the unfortunate event that he laid violent hands on himself. Gallant beha-
viour of some
of the Persian
chiefs.

This victory was attended with important consequences. Sardis, the chief city of Lycia, and Several of the
provinces of
Lower Asia
submit.

B O O K I. once the royal seat of the Lydian kings, submitted immediately. The several cities likewise of Phrygia, Sect. I. Lydia, Pamphylia, Caria, Ionia, opened their gates to the conqueror, Miletus and Halicarnassus excepted; and of these also he soon made himself master, though vigorously defended, the latter even by Memnon. Within the course of a few months, therefore, from his passing the Hellespont, he had reduced most of the provinces of the Lower Asia.

Soon after the reduction of Miletus, he dismissed his fleet; a measure seemingly rash, but the result, nevertheless, of mature deliberation. A naval armament required an expense, which he could not well defray; with the utmost pains, he would, after all, have found it impossible to maintain a superiority at sea against the powerful navies of Phœnicia and Cyprus: and to have attempted an engagement, and been defeated, though nothing worse had followed, would probably have encouraged the Greeks to rise against him. His only road to victory was, therefore, by land; and, if all the sea-ports were once subdued, the shipping must, in the end, be his also.

The wisdom of Alexander, in improving the advantages obtained.

His wisdom, in improving the advantages¹³ which his arms had obtained, was not less conspicuous than his valor had been in obtaining them. He took care that agriculture and civil government should succeed to the devastations of war. Those Macedonians in whom he could best confide, he appointed governors over the several provinces; instructing

¹³ See Chandler's Travels in Lower Asia, chap. ix.

them to strengthen the new establishments by the lenity of their administration; and to make the nations over whom they were to rule, feel the difference between the Grecian laws, and the arbitrary oppressions under which they had recently groaned. In the Greek cities, he restored the democratical form of government, to which the citizens were fondly attached, recommending it to them, that, whatever wrongs they had suffered under the late administration, they should not seek for revenge. At the same time he visited in person those places which seemed to demand his presence, attentive to what the circumstances of each people required, and studious to heal the breaches that yet remained; imposing no new tribute, and even lightening the burden of those who appeared to want relief¹⁴. These noble cares employed him until the return of the season fitted for military¹⁵ operations.

It was in the course of this progress, that he is said to have performed the famed achievement of the Gordian knot. At Gordium in Phrygia, the capital city of old Midas, in one of the temples was the yoke of a chariot, suspended to a beam, the knot of which was contrived with such art, that it was not possible to discover the ends. And, “to the person who should unloose it,” said the Barbarians,

¹⁴ At Ephesus particularly, he applied the tribute which the citizens were wont to pay, to the rebuilding of the temple of Diana, the favorite Goddess of the Ephesian people, which had been consumed with fire on the night on which he was born.

¹⁵ See Arrian, L. ii. c. 3. Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 1.

B O O K “ the oracles had destined the empire of the world.”

I. Alexander, according to some historians, cut the
Sect. 1. knot; determined, if he could not fulfil the oracle,
that no other person should. But Aristobulus, who
accompanied the King, relates the story in a different
manner. The pin which fastened the yoke to the
beam, was passed through the knot: the pin,
therefore, taken out, the charm was dissolved, and
Alexander drew out the yoke without difficulty. If
the incident is true, it is plain Alexander did not
disdain to avail himself of the superstition of the
vulgar, as well as of the artifice of the priests, from
whom, doubtless, he had received instructions
before he ventured on an attempt in which it had
been dangerous for him to have failed.

Memnon dies. Mean while, Memnon died. This was the
severest loss Darius had yet sustained¹⁶. Previous to
his death, that General had formed a plan, the only
one that could have saved the Persian empire, and
of which his royal master had approved, to remove
the war into Greece. In order to effect this, he had
already begun to reduce those islands, which had
revolted to the Macedonians, and was before
Mitylene at the time of his death. From thence he
was to have passed into Euboea, and from Euboea
into Peloponnesus, where, having formed a con-
federacy with the several Grecian States to whom the
Macedonian was become formidable, he was to
have poured the war into Macedon, and have
obliged Alexander to attend to the defence of his

His advice to
Darius.

¹⁶ See Arrian, L. ii. c. 1. Diod. Sic. L. xvii.

hereditary dominions. But the supreme Arbiter of events had pronounced, that the empire of the Medes and Persians should be no more; and removed from Darius the only resource he had left to avert the blow.

While Memnon lived, Alexander had confined his attention to the security of the Lower Asia. Upon his death, as if relieved from all farther apprehensions on that side, he declared his resolution of penetrating into the upper provinces. What enabled him the better to attempt it, was, that the returning spring had brought him large reinforcements. At the close of the former campaign, he had granted to his army an indulgence, from which he now derived considerable benefit. In the spirit of the Jewish law (of which, probably, he had information from Aristotle, who could not but have some acquaintance with the sacred Writings) he had given his Macedonian soldiers, who were lately married, permission to return home, and spend the winter with their wives¹⁷. In the effusion of their gratitude, they had reported the King in so advantageous a manner, and spread such splendid accounts of the exploits achieved, and the rich conquests made, that numbers crowded to a service, in which such noble rewards were to be obtained.

At the same time Darius, who had no general whom he could employ in the place of Memnon, had determined to march in person against the enemy, and prepared to leave Susa.

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Sect. I.

The consequence of his death.

Darius marches against Alexander.

¹⁷ Arrian. L. ii. c. 25.

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Pageantry of
his march.

The splendor, or rather pageantry, that Darius affected on this occasion, gives us the highest idea of the wealth and of the folly of the Persian monarch. His army numbered six hundred thousand men. Their dress, the trappings of their horses, the ornaments of their elephants, their very armour, exhibited, we are told, the most costly display of silver, gold, and precious stones. The chariot of Darius, its materials and curious workmanship, the richness of his royal mantle, vest, and tiara, and the profusion of jewels with which he was covered, were such, that history has not disdained to record them particularly¹. The retinue by which he was attended, was suitable to this state. He carried in his train, in the greatest abundance, all those ministers and implements of luxury, in which the Asiatics have been always known to delight. Their women made part of their military train; and besides Darius's mother, wife, and children, he had with him three hundred and sixty concubines. It may be supposed, that the officers of his army but too faithfully copied their master's example.

Charidemus
ventures to
advise Darius.

Charidemus was among the attendants of the Persian King. He had been obliged, as we have seen, to leave Athens, and enjoyed a considerable share of the royal favor. Darius, full of confidence in his numbers, and who beheld, with great complacency, the gay appearance they made, asked him, "What he thought would now become of Alexander and his handful of men?" The gene-

¹ See Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 3.

rous Greek, though an exile, though severely injured by the King of Macedon, and a daily witness of the abject servility with which, whatever fell from Darius, was received, could not suppress his honest indignation. He told him, "He was much mistaken, if he imagined, that this vain parade could avail against the men whom he was marching to attack; the rough Thracians, the hardy Illyrians, the resolute and well-disciplined Greeks; men, to whom no dangers were new, and who had been long inured to every kind of toil — that, if he hoped for victory, instead of lavishing his vast treasures in the support of this effeminate multitude, he had better send to Thrace, to Illyricum, to Greece, for forces which he might safely oppose to those of Alexander, as they had the same hardiness, the same vigor, the same expertness in arms — that, would he vouchsafe to intrust him, he was ready to undertake the charge; and, if he was only enabled to raise among those valiant nations, an army equal to one sixth part of the numbers which the King had with him, he would cheerfully stake his life on the issue." Darius, it is said, hesitated. He felt the truth of Charidemus's observations. But his courtiers got the ascendant over him. They represented Charidemus as a dangerous person, who had perfidious views. He was weak enough to believe them; and was at last prevailed on to have him put to death¹². Darius, like most unfortunate princes of his character, perceived his mistake when it was no longer to be repaired.

Darius was, nevertheless, accounted a sensible, ^{Darius's history;}

¹² Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 2.

B O O K I. brave, and generous Prince, at the time he ascended the throne of Persia; and this was only the fourth year of his reign²⁰. His name, before he was King, was Codomannus. He was descended originally from a distant branch of the royal family, and for some years in a very humble station, having been reduced to accept of the office of *Istanda*, or royal courier. His life was even, for some time, in great danger, Ochus, the king then reigning, having put to death the father of Codomannus, with most of his family. How Codomannus escaped, historians do not say. He afterwards obtained the government of Armenia for his gallant behaviour against the Cadusians, with whom Ochus was at war: A champion belonging to the enemy had challenged any Persian to single combat; and Codomannus engaged and slew him. Soon after this, Ochus was taken off by Bagoas, his favorite eunuch; and Arses, his youngest son, was placed on the throne, Bagoas having put all his other sons to death. But Bagoas, who thought to govern the young King, finding himself in danger of being disappointed, caused him to be murdered, and advanced Codomannus to the throne, in hopes that the favor which he had conferred on him, would fix him his dependent. Codomannus, nevertheless, apprized of his guilt, held him in abhorrence; and judging from his former treasons what he had to expect, watched him so narrowly, that he detected him in the very act of attempting his life by poison.

²⁰ Diod. Sic. L. xvii. Just. L. x. c. 3.

and compelled him to swallow the potion he had prepared. B O O K
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But, whatever had been the virtues of Codoman- Sect. 1.
and character.
nus, or Darius, as we shall now call him, in a private station, the corrupted manners of the Persian court, and the seductions of flattery, had soon taught him other sentiments. History has even charged him with practices, that speak great baseness of mind. He scrupled not to suborn traitors against Alexander, Suborns a
traitor to kill
Alexander; offering large rewards to the person who should kill him; and he had nearly succeeded. The assassin was Alexander, the son of Aeropus. He owed his life to this master's clemency having lain under the suspicion of being privy to the conspiracy against Philip, for which his two brothers had suffered. The King had conferred many favors on him, and had lately appointed him to the command of the Thessalian horse, an office of great trust and dignity. But it would appear, that the offers which Darius had caused to be made to him, of ten thousand talents (near two millions sterling) and the kingdom of Macedon, had seduced him from his allegiance. who is disco-
vered. And the treason was on the point of being carried into execution, when it was discovered by the sagacity of Parmenio ²¹.

Whilst Darius was on his march through Assyria, Alexander had advanced into Cilicia as far as Tarsus. Alexander
advances into
Cilicia. Cilicia forms a large plain, extending itself from the foot of Mount Taurus to the sea; on the south, it is washed by the Aegean; its other sides are bounded

²¹ Arrian, L. i. c. 26.

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by mountains, which have three openings or narrow passes, named by historians *The gates of Cilicia*. One pass, to the north-west, opens into Cappadocia; the other, to the east, into Syria; and the third, to the north-east, into Assyria, by the side of the mountain Amanus, and it is therefore known by the name of the *gate or pass of Amanus*. Alexander had marched through this pass, which leads from Cappadocia. A small body of men might have interrupted him; and a sufficient force had been placed there accordingly. But his very name defeated all opposition. As soon as they heard that Alexander was approaching, they fled. Entering Cilicia, he gave orders to Parmenio to seize the pass on the Syrian side, purposing to march on with all possible expedition in quest of Darius.

Is dangerously
ill at Tarsus.

An accident delayed him at Tarsus. Through this district runs the river Cydnus, remarkable for its beauty and exceeding coldness. Alexander, to whom, as to all the Greeks, it was customary to throw himself, however warm, into whatever river was nearest, had, immediately upon his arrival, when in a glow of heat, promoted by his march and the sultry season, plunged into the Cydnus, the cold of which struck through him in such a manner, that his life was despaired of. The whole army remained in the deepest consternation; and what rendered their situation the more alarming, advice had been received, that Darius was approaching.

Philip of
Acarnania
offers to re-
lieve him;

Among the attendants of Alexander was Philip of Acarnania, a physician of eminence. In the general perplexity, he offered to prepare a potion, exceed-

ingly violent in its operation, but from which he had reason to expect the most salutary and speedy effects. Alexander, impatient of confinement, desired the experiment might instantly be made; and already was the medicine prepared, when dispatches arrived from Parmenio to the King, “not on any account to trust Philip, for he had sold himself to the Persians.”

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is suspected.

Alexander, with magnanimity superior to all praise, concealed the packet under his pillow; and the potion being brought him, swallowed it without emotion, delivering at the same time, Parmenio's dispatch into the hands of Philip, marking his countenance as he read it. The firmness and honest indignation with which he perused it, fully satisfied the King; he embraced him, assuring him in the warmest terms, of the entire confidence he had in his fidelity. Whilst Philip, with the most ardent protestations of his unalterable attachment, conjured the King to assist the operation of the medicine, by keeping up his spirits, and banishing every gloomy doubt²².

Magnanim-
ity of Alex-
ander.

The strength of the medicine, notwithstanding, having overpowered him, he remained for some time speechless, discovering scarcely any signs of life. But the faithful Philip, who watched every change, soon relieved him, and in three days he was enabled to show himself to the Macedonians, whose distress did not abate until the King appeared before them.

Recovers.

²² Arian, L. ii. c. 4. Just. L. xi. c. 8. Quint. Cur. L. iii. c. 6. Plutarch. in Alexand.

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Confidence of
Darius.

Alexander's illness had increased the confidence of Darius²³. His courtiers had assured him, that the Macedonians would not dare to meet him in battle; and their not appearing, confirmed him in this vain belief. He now looked upon it as certain, that the Greeks were flying; accordingly he prepared to pursue them through Cilicia, and had entered the pass of Amanus at the same time Alexander had struck off by that of Syria, and was thus leaving Darius behind him. When advice of the enemy's motions was brought to Alexander, he would scarcely give credit to the report. But finding it sufficiently authenticated, he began with thanking the Gods, who had confounded the counsels of Darius, and by shutting him up in these defiles, had delivered him into his hands. He then commanded his troops to march back into Cilicia, and to prepare for battle.

His terror.

Darius had already crossed the Pinarus, which divides Cilicia, and was encamped near the city of Issus. When the Persians found that Alexander, of whose flight they entertained not the least doubt, was advancing against them, they were in the utmost confusion. Pent up within narrow defiles, they found themselves deprived of all the advantages which they expected to derive from their multitudes, and in a manner reduced to fight upon an equality with the enemy. Darius particularly, who some hours before was elated with confidence, was now struck with such terror, that he commanded the banks of the river to be fortified with stakes, lest the Greeks should

²³ Arrian, L. ii. c. 7 & seq.

break in upon him. This cowardly precaution, Arrian B O O K
tells us, provoked the scorn of the Macedonian sol- I.
diers; "He has already," said they, "the spirit of Sect. I.
"a slave in him"²⁴! But, whatever cause Alexander
might have to hold the Persians in contempt, it did
not make him negligent of any one of the duties of a
general. With consummate skill he extended his
front from the foot of the mountain to the sea; so that
the Persians should not have it in their power, by
their superiority of Numbers, to surround him: some
of their detached parties had occupied the heights
above him; he sent a body of archers to dislodge them
previous to the engagement: he examined attentively
every disposition the enemy had made; and wherever
he saw their best troops placed, he added to the
strength of that part of his line which was to oppose
them. He then rode through the ranks, reminding
those, who had distinguished themselves by any
former exploit, of what achievements they had
performed, and calling by name upon every
brave soldier, to support, on that day, the glory he
had already acquired.

The command of the left wing, which reached to Battle of Issus.
the sea, he assigned to Parmenio; and began²⁵ him-
self the attack at the head of the right, directing his
men to move up slowly, until within a certain dis-
tance of the enemy; and then to rush vigorously on,
before the Persians should have time to discharge their
missile weapons. This manœuvre had the desired

²⁴ Τῇ γνώμῃ δεδουλωμένος. Arrian, L. ii. c. 10.

²⁵ OLYMP. 6xi. 4 BEFORE CHRIST 333.

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effect. The foremost ranks of the enemy finding their arms, in which they were most expert, rendered useless, and pressed by the violent onset of the Greeks, who charged them sword in hand, fell back on the ranks behind them; these likewise on those next to them, until the confusion spread throughout the whole left wing; the Macedonians still urging on with dreadful execution. Darius, who was only conspicuous by the height of his splendid chariot and the richness of his dress, seeing his left wing broken, and that the slaughter began to threaten the spot where he was stationed, turned from the field of battle, and fled with the foremost.

Greek mercenaries.

The Greek mercenaries, who composed the main body of the Persian army, still bravely maintained their ground, though against the Macedonian phalanx. But Alexander, after routing the enemy's left wing, having taken them in flank, they were at length worsted with great slaughter.

Total discomfiture of the Persians.

On the right wing the Persians had considerably the advantage at the beginning of the engagement, their cavalry on that side being much stronger than the Greeks, until a seasonable reinforcement of Thesalian horse enabled Parmenio to turn the fortune of the day against them; when seeing the general dispersion, they consulted their safety by flight.

Alexander pursues them.

The pursuit which Alexander, though wounded in the thigh, continued till the close of day, proved not less fatal to the Persians than the battle, on account of their multitudes, and of the narrow defiles and rugged mountainous paths through which they had to pass. So that Ptolemy, the son of Lagus,

who accompanied Alexander on this occasion, B O O K
 declared, that through the whole way they had I.
 trodden on nothing but dead carcases. As for Darius, Sect. I.
 he remained in his chariot for some time; but his Darius escapes.
 fears suggesting to him, that this method was not
 sufficiently expeditious, he alighted, and relinquish-
 ing his royal mantle, mounted on horse-back, and fled
 with the utmost precipitation, hardly stopping for
 refreshment, until he had got beyond the Euphrates.

Of the Persians there fell, according to Arrian, The Persian
 ninety thousand foot and ten thousand horse. Of camp, and
 the Greeks, if Diodorus may be depended on, only Darius's
 four hundred and fifty. The Persian camp was taken; family, taken.
 in which were found the mother and wife of Darius,
 with his son and two daughters. The greater part
 of the baggage and treasure of the enemy had been
 left at Damascus. The plunder, however, was very
 considerable, every part of the camp affording proofs
 of Asiatic luxury and opulence. The tent of Darius, Magnificence
 especially, the Macedonians beheld with amazement. of Darius's
 Its spacious apartments were laid out in the most tent.
 elegant manner, adorned with costly furniture, and
 on every side were placed vases of gold, from whence
 the richest odors issued; sumptuous preparations
 also for bathing and for the royal banquet, awaited
 Darius's return from the battle; and the officers of
 the household, splendidly attired, attended in
 their respective stations.

It was thought proper to reserve this piece of mag- Alexander's
 nificence for Alexander himself. He viewed it with opinion of it.
 much indifference, and having smelled the rich
 essences, turning to his followers, "This then," said

B O O K he, "it was to be a king²⁶!" Out of all the precious
I. things he selected only a casket, ornamented with
Sect. 1. jewels and of curious workmanship, in which Darius
 was wont to keep perfumes. "I use no perfumes,"
 said he, "but I will apply it to a nobler purpose;" and
 accordingly used it as a case for Homer's Iliad, a copy
 of which, corrected by Aristotle and Callisthenes, he
 always, carried about with him. Hence is this copy
 of Homer, which appears to have been in high esti-
 mation among the ancients, known by the name of
*the copy of the casket*²⁷.

His noble con-
 duct.

Historical writers make the most honorable men-
 tion of the temperate manner in which Alexander
 enjoyed his victory. To Darius's family he behaved
 with singular magnanimity. He took care, that their
 persons, and whatever belonged to them, should
 be saved and secured from insult. The night suc-
 ceeding the battle, hearing of their distress upon the
 supposed death of Darius, whose mantle one of the
 eunuchs had seen in the hands of a soldier, he im-
 mediately sent Leonnatus to assure them, that Darius
 was living, and that themselves, though now cap-
 tives, should enjoy the same royal state to which
 they had been accustomed in their highest splendor.
 The ensuing day he visited them in person, his friend
 Hephaestion only accompanying him. As they

²⁶ Dacier and others understand Alexander's words, as if
 spoken in admiration of what he saw. Dr. Langhorne considers
 them as the words of indignation. And this idea, which seems
 the most natural, and gives to the passage a peculiar beauty, is
 accordingly the one here adopted. See Langhorne's Plutarch.

²⁷ Πῶς τοῦ ναρθήκος. Strab. L. xiii. Plutarch in Alexand.
 entered,

entered, Syfigambis, the mother of Darius, fell at Hephaestion's feet, supposing him to be the king; but one of the attendants having informed her of the mistake, she in great confusion, turning to Alexander, began to excuse herself. "You are not greatly mistaken, madam," replied he, raising her up, with great affection, "for *he* also is Alexander."

From that day, to avoid every injurious suspicion, he laid it down as a law, never to visit the wife of Darius more; who, it is said, was the most beautiful woman of her time. So that, as Plutarch observes, she and the rest of the princesses "lived, though in an enemy's camp, as if they had been in some holy temple unseen and unapproached, in the most sacred privacy." Syfigambis particularly, was treated by him with a respect and attention not less than she could have expected from Darius himself. He permitted her to order the funeral honors that should be paid to those of the royal family who had fallen in the action; and often afterwards granted favors at her request, even forgiving, upon her intercession, some Persian lords, who had deservedly incurred his displeasure.

The victory of Issus was followed by the surrender of Damascus²⁸; the governor, without waiting to be attacked, having delivered up to Parmenio the city, and the treasures it contained, to a vast amount; together with thirty thousand prisoners, among whom were the wives and daughters of the first nobles of Persia; and, what is worthy of notice,

B O O K
I.
Sect. I.

His generous
demeanor to
the family of
Darius.

Damascus sur-
renders.

²⁸ Arrian, L. ii. c. 15.

B O O K

I.

Sect. 1.

Grecian em-
bassadors
found there.
Alexander's
treatment of
them.

embassadors, deputed from Thebes, Athens, and Sparta, to Darius, who had taken up their residence here, as in a place of security.

Alexander commanded the ambassadors to be immediately sent to him. Two of them, Thebans, he treated with remarkable lenity. "He wondered not," he said, "that they should be found among the enemies of Greece, deprived, as they had been, of their native home, and driven to seek for refuge in a foreign land." From this and other instances it is evident, that Alexander repented of his severity to the Theban people, and sought to remove the unfavorable impressions which that rigorous procedure had left on the minds of most of the Greeks. Another of the ambassadors was Iphicrates of Athens, son to the illustrious general of the name. He forgave him also. "He had known," he said, "and honored his father. The respect, besides, that he had for Athens, would not permit him to show resentment to her citizen, though employed in so improper a business." But the fourth Euthycles, the Spartan, he ordered immediately into confinement. "The Spartans were his professed enemies, and deserved no favor at his hands." In a little time however, he released him²⁹. The truth is, Alexander was sensible, that he was far from enjoying the affections of the several States of Greece; and was cautious of exasperating them. He well knew, that it must be a matter of much difficulty to make that republican spirit, with which they were animated,

²⁹ Arrian, loc. cit.

submit to the chains to which he had destined them. B O O K
 And should he declare his purpose at once, and avow I.
 himself for their lord and master, it might be the Sect. I.
 means of forcing them to unite in defence of their
 common liberties, and of provoking an opposition,
 with which he was not yet in a condition to contend.
 We shall see him assume a very different deportment
 after the final destruction of Darius.

Alexander had now the prize of empire before him, Alexander re-
 and resolved to employ his utmost vigor in pushing duces the ma-
 on the pursuit. He proceeded first to reduce the ritime nations
 maritime nations of Syria, Phœnicia, and the islands of Syria, &c.
 adjacent. This was an object to him of considerable
 moment. They were powerful at sea; he wanted
 a navy to secure and to extend his conquests; and
 by reducing them into subjection, he cut off from
 Darius many important resources he derived from
 them. The success corresponded to his expectations.
 Byblus, Marathus, the prince of Aradus on the
 Phœnician coast; and, of more moment still, the
 people of Sidon, revolted to him. The Sidonians
 particularly hated the Persian yoke; they had suffered
 much oppression in the days of Ochus; and hailed
 Alexander as their deliverer.

The Tyrians also made a show³⁰ of submitting, The Tyrians
 and presented him with a golden crown. But he refuse to admit
 found they meant³¹ to preserve their independence. Alexander.

³⁰ The King of Tyre, Azelmicus, was at this very time on
 board the Persian fleet with Autophradates, one of Darius's
 admirals. Arrian, L. ii. c. 15.

³¹ Arrian, L. ii. c. 17 & seq. Plutarch in Alex. Quint. Cur.
 L. iv. c. 2. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 4.

B O O K Confiding in their situation and naval strength, they
I. thought they had little to fear, and refused to admit
Sect. 1. any Macedonians within their walls, whilst the fate of
 the Persian empire was yet in suspense. Alexander,
 on the contrary, was determined, that the proudest
 power of Asia should not defy him with impunity.

**Strength of
Tyre.**

To reduce Tyre was nevertheless, a work of difficulty. It was seated on an island at the distance of four furlongs from the Phœnician shore; it was surrounded with walls, remarkable for their height and solidity; and the sea, where it washed the foot of these walls, was of the depth of three fathoms. The Tyrians besides were strong in men, hardy, experienced, well-appointed; they were the boldest mariners then known, and possessed immense wealth from the extensive commerce they had long enjoyed; from their numerous fleets, they had means both of annoying at pleasure the enemies that should attack them, and of receiving constant supplies of whatever was necessary for their defence: And they had a right to expect powerful succours from their several colonies.

Siege of Tyre.

Alexander was not to be intimidated. He began by running a mole from the continent to Tyre, in order to have firm ground on which to raise machines and carry on his works. Laborious as the undertaking was, the soldiers, inspired by the presence and example of their Sovereign, thought no fatigue too severe; earth, timber, and every necessary material, were collected in abundance; and the mole soon appeared above the surface of the sea. Whilst the Macedonians wrought near the shore, they met with no obstruction; but as

they approached towards Tyre, they found themselves so much exposed to attacks from the enemy, and so sharply galled by the stones and missile weapons, which their engines discharged against them, that Alexander was obliged to raise wooden towers to protect his work, and to cover the workmen. The Tyrians, on their part, lost no time. They prepared a ship filled with combustible stores, and towing her to the place where the towers were reared, set them on fire with the other machines which the Macedonians had constructed, whilst armed men from the city, in small boats, attacked the mole on every side, and laid it in ruins.

Baffled in this attempt, Alexander found it necessary to alter his plan. He determined to give his mole more breadth, that, by having it in his power to raise a greater number of towers on it, he might provide the more effectually for its defence. Observing, that without a sufficient naval force it must be impossible to keep the Tyrian fleet in awe, he summoned the several maritime powers which had lately submitted, to furnish him with ships. They obeyed. Even Cyprus joined him. That island had hitherto followed the fortunes of Darius; but, deterred by the success of the Macedonian arms, declared now for Alexander. The Tyrians, who had been preparing for a naval engagement, were astonished to behold the sea covered with the vessels of the enemy, and retired within their ports.

The Macedonians, thus reinforced, completed their mole, and urged on the siege with great activity. But the more vigor they exhibited, the more spirited

B O O K

I.

Sect. 1.

Alexander
summons the
maritime
powers to his
assistance.

Obstinate de-
fence of Tyre.

B O O K

I.

Sect. I.

was the defence which the Tyrians made, as if resolved to preserve their liberties or perish. A continual discharge of destructive and deadly weapons poured from every part of their walls upon the ships or men that dared to approach them. And whatever instruments of offence the enemy invented, the Tyrians straightway contrived others to disappoint their effect. The Greeks had constructed towers of wood equal in height to the battlements of the city, which they moved close to the walls; so as to fight the besieged hand to hand, and sometimes, by throwing spontoons across, passed on to the very battlements. The Tyrians prepared hooks and grappling-irons, with which they caught hold of the soldiers that appeared on these towers, and dragged them off. Those, who attempted scaling-ladders, had poured on them vessels of scalding sand, which penetrated to the bone. Against whatever place the battering engines were directed, green hides or coverlets of wool were instantly spread, to render ineffectual the blow. And if in any part of the walls an opening was made, a number of combatants immediately rushed forward to guard the breach.

The aids of
superstition
employed to
encourage the
Macedonians.

The siege had now continued seven months. And it is likely the Macedonians began to be tired out; if we may judge from the extraordinary artifices, which it appears were made use of to raise their drooping spirits. One while, an account had been received, that Apollo was about to leave Tyre, and that the Tyrians had fastened him to his pedestal with golden chains, to prevent his elopement. At another, it was said, that Hercules had appeared to Alexander,

and invited him to pass into Tyre. And again, the King dreamed, that a Satyr³² was playing before him, and, as he endeavoured to lay hold of him, eluded his grasp; but that at last, won by his solicitations, he surrendered to him. The Augurs, in whom the Macedonian army had been taught to place implicit faith, and who were, therefore, Alexander's general resource in his difficulties, affirmed, that these were all notices from Heaven, that Tyre was on the point of falling into his hands.

It was thought advisable to take advantage of the confidence which these assurances produced in the minds of the soldiery. Large breaches had been made in the walls. And it was natural to suppose, that the long fatigue, and many sharp engagements, which the Tyrians had sustained, must have diminished their numbers considerably. Alexander accordingly determined to make another effort, and gave orders for a general assault by sea and land; the Macedonians to penetrate the breaches, and the fleet at the same time to attempt the different ports, of which Tyre had two, the one opening towards Egypt, the other towards Sidon.

B O O K
I.
Sect. I.

A general
assault.

³² One can hardly forbear smiling at the paltry equivoque, with which we are told the Augurs satisfied their employers on this occasion. The Greek word Σάτυρος, a Satyr, may be divided into two syllables, Σά τυρος, Tyre is thine. "'Tis the very interpretation of the King's dream;" pronounced the Augurs. "The appearing of the Satyr says, that the gods have delivered Tyre into thy hands." Plutarch (in Alexandr.) relates this solution as a notable piece of ingenuity. Probably, both the dream and the interpretation were the contrivance of the Augurs themselves.

B O O K

I.

Sect. I.

Tyre taken.

Cruel treat-
ment of the
Tyrians.

It is difficult to say which deserves most the warrior's praise, the skill exhibited in planning the several attacks, or the spirit with which they were executed; and the Tyrians, notwithstanding a resistance to which they seem to have been animated by despair, were at last overpowered on every side³³. The gallant defence of the besieged had exasperated Alexander. He gave orders, that all who were found in arms, should be put to the sword, and the rest of the inhabitants sold for slaves³⁴, those excepted who had taken refuge in the temple of Hercules, the patron-god of Tyre; in gratitude, doubtless, for the vision with which he wished to have it believed the god had honored him. The Sidonians, however, in compassion to their kindred city (for Tyre was originally a Sidonian colony, and is therefore called by the prophet *the daughter of Sidon*³⁵) secreted a number of

³³ OLYMP. cxii. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 332.

³⁴ There was the *Old Tyre* and the *New*. The old Tyre, known by the name of Palactyrus, was situate on the continent of Phœnicia, and by means of its extensive trade, rose to such power, that it held out a siege of five years against Salmaneser, king of Assyria, who was at last obliged to raise it. It was again besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, who took it, after a siege of thirteen years, and overthrew it. Upon which, the Tyrians built them a new city, that which we now treat of, on an island opposite to old Tyre.

Commentators are not agreed, whether the prophecies of Isaiah xxiii. and of Ezekiel xxvi. and xxvii. relate to the calamities they suffered from Salmaneser and Nebuchadnezzar, or to those which Alexander brought on them. Grotius supports the former opinion. Prideaux the latter. Bishop Newton (*Dissertat. xi.*) thinks that these prophecies relate both to the one and to the other.

³⁵ Isaiah, xxiii. 12.

the inhabitants, to the amount of fifteen thousand, and carried them off in their ships. By these, Tyre was afterwards raised from her ruins³⁶. Some historians have recorded, that Alexander's cruelty went beyond what we have related, and that he crucified two thousand of this unhappy people. If so, Aristobulus and Ptolemy, from whose memoirs Arrian compiled his history, chose to pass this action over in silence; for there is no mention of it in Arrian. Probably they were ashamed of such horrid barbarity³⁷.

B O O K
I.
Sect. I.

Darius found, that Alexander was becoming every day more formidable, and sought to engage him to an accommodation. He had applied to him soon after the battle of Issus; but the manner was such, that Alexander thought himself rather insulted by it. He summoned him, "to behave to the Princesses he held captive, as it became a King to behave to a King, and to deliver them up immediately to Darius."—He reproached him with "having undertaken the present war, unprovoked by any wrongs; whereas Darius had armed in defence of his hereditary realms;—adding, that "he nevertheless offered Alexander his friendship, and was ready to accept of his, whenever it was properly tendered."

Darius applied
to Alexander.

Alexander replied, by "enumerating all the

Alexander's
answer.

³⁶ Tyre soon recovered; for in about nineteen years after, it was able to withstand the fleets and armies of Antigonus, and to sustain a siege of fifteen months before it was taken. It owed this wonderful increase of strength to its commerce, and chiefly to its purple-trade; the purple shell-fish being found on this coast in great abundance.—See Strabo. Casaub. L. vi. p. 521.

³⁷ See Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 4.

B O O K I. grievances, real or imputed, which Greece had at any period of time suffered from the Persian Kings, demanding reparation at the hands of Darius for them all;—that, if he had any boon to ask of Alexander, he should come in person, and solicit it;—that, if he entertained any doubt, there should be given sufficient hostages for his security; and his wife and children should no longer be withheld from him;—he concluded with “requiring, that, should he henceforth write to him, to remember he was writing not to his equal, but to the lord of Asia and of Darius; that, if he was unwilling to admit the claim, Alexander was ready to support it by force of arms.”

Darius applies again,

without success.

Darius now used an humbler style³³. He offered him “his daughter in marriage; a ransom of ten thousand talents for the rest of the Princesses; and the cession of all the provinces of Asia, from the Hellespont to the Euphrates.” Parmenio, we are told, advised Alexander to accept of these terms: “I would,” added he, “were I Alexander”—“And so would I,” replied Alexander, “were I Parmenio.” “Alexander answered Darius, “That he stood not in want of any treasures Darius had to give; that the provinces which he proposed to cede, were no longer his to offer; that nothing less could now be accepted of, than the cession of the whole empire. With respect to marrying his daughter, Alexander, regardless of the consent of Darius, would consult only his own inclination; and that the last resource of the Persian King was, to surrender himself to Alexander, and make trial of his clemency.”

³³ Arrian, L. ii. c. 25.

From Tyre ³⁹ Alexander directed his march towards Jerusalem. The Jews had offended him. Under pretence of fealty to Darius, they had excused themselves from furnishing him with provisions during the late siege, and at the same time had sent supplies to the Tyrians. When they heard, that Alexander was approaching, Jaddua, the high-priest, instructed by a heavenly vision, arrayed himself in the sacerdotal vestments; and, together with the other priests in their sacred habits, and the rest of the people clothed in white, went forth to meet Alexander. The Macedonians beheld them, in earnest expectation of what would follow; they knew the King to be violent in his resentments; and imagined this humiliation would avail little. When, all at once, Alexander stepping forth, prostrated himself before Jaddua. Parmenio, amazed, would have stopped him. "What!" said he, "shall you, whom all hold in veneration, prostrate yourself before a man!" — "Not before a man," replied the King, "but before the God whose minister he is. When at Dium in Macedonia, the same venerable personage whom I now see, appeared

B O O K
I.

Sect. I.

Alexander advances towards Jerusalem, with hostile purposes; is pacified at the sight of the high-priest;

why?

³⁹ Josephus, in whose writings the account of the high-priest Jaddua is found, supposes, that Alexander did not set out for Jerusalem till after the taking of Gaza; but Eusebius, in his Chronicon, says, he went thither from Tyre. Archbishop Usher (consult Usserii Annal. p. 301.) is of the same opinion. And this is entirely consonant with what Arrian expressly says, that, before he set out for Gaza, on his way to Egypt, he had brought into subjection all Palestine; ἢν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν τῆς ἄλλης τῆς Παλαιστίνης καλούμενης Συρίας προσκεχωρηκότα ἦδη. Arrian, L. ii. c. 25.

B O O K

I.

Sect. I.

Shows favor
to the Jews ;Sees the pro-
phesies of
Daniel.

“ to me , and commanded me to pass into Asia ,
“ promising , that the God whom he served should
“ be my conductor “ . ”

Embracing then the high-priest , he held on his way towards Jerusalem , where he spent some days , showing himself exceedingly gracious to the Jewish nation , and granting them a confirmation of their several privileges ; particularly , of their exemption from all tribute on every seventh year , or year of the Sabbath , on which , according to their law , they were neither to sow nor reap .

Josephus “ , from whom we have taken this account , tells us , that the Macedonian saw at Jerusalem the prophecies of Daniel “ , in which was foretold , “ the overthrow of the Persian empire , by “ a Prince of Greece ; ” which the high-priest took care to explain to him “ .

“ See the authenticity of this whole account fully vindicated in Bishop Newton’s Dissertations on the Prophecies. Dissert. xv.

“ Consult Josephi Antiq. L. ii. c. 8. Sect. v. p. 504. Edit. Hudf.

“ Dan. viii. 7. 20 , 21.

“ It may seem strange to some , that Alexander , after having had such convincing proof of the power of the True God , should have continued an idolater , and especially have pursued his visionary plan of having himself acknowledged for the son of Hammon . But , in the first place , *the incompatibility of the worship of the True God with that of the gods of the nations* , was a doctrine which few of the Pagans could be brought to apprehend rightly , and from which even the better-informed nations of Israel and Judah were but too apt to depart , debasing often the worship of the Almighty with the mixture of heathenish rites . And , in the second place , Alexander’s real motive for claiming divine honors , was not any idolatrous principle (for it was an

The Samaritans, whose jealousy and hatred of the Jewish people are well known, and who had distinguished themselves in the service of Alexander, applied for the same favors as the Jews had received; but he declined listening to the request, excusing himself for want of leisure, on account of Egyptian affairs, which occupied his attention.

On the road to Egypt, at the entrance of the desert that divides it from Phœnicia, stood Gaza, a city strong and well garrisoned, of which Batis was governor. The cowardice or infidelity of other Persian governors were no examples to him. He defended the city against the whole Macedonian army for the space of two months; and when at last it was taken by storm, he and his men continued fighting to the last gasp of life, not a man surviving⁴⁴. Alexander, however, provoked partly by this obstinate defence, and partly by some slight wound

B O O K

I.

Sect. I.

His treatment
of the Samari-
tans.Takes Gaza
by storm.

impious violation of the very religion of his own country) but merely the lust of conquest, which in him was so strong, as to absorb all other considerations. It was not possible he should ever have brought himself to believe sincerely, that he was a god. But it is very possible he might wish, that others should believe him one; because such a belief was an useful instrument for the establishing of that empire which he had in view.

⁴⁴ Quintus Curtius (iv. 6.) in express contradiction to Arrian, tells us, that Batis (Betis, he calls him) was yet alive when taken, though grievously wounded; and that Alexander, after loading him with reproaches for the gallant defence he had made, fastened him to his chariot by cords passed through his feet, and, in imitation of what Achilles is said to have done to the dead body of Hector, dragged him, while life yet remained, round the walls of Gaza. Probably this is fabulous.

B O O K he had received in the course of the siege, wreaked
I. his vengeance on the women and children, all of
Sect. I. whom he condemned to slavery.

Egypt sub-
mits.

Egypt was soon reduced. Even before Alexander's arrival, the Persians were held in abhorrence there, on account of their late oppressions and profane treatment of the Egyptian gods, in the reign of Ochus⁴⁵. Alexander cultivated these favorable dispositions; he showed particular attention to the prosperity of the country; and laid the foundation of a great city, to be called after his own name; the situation of which, he said, had been pointed out to him by Homer⁴⁶, and which proved the principal source of that immense opulence, of which the Egyptians became possessed in succeeding ages.

⁴⁵ He had profaned the most revered rites of their national religion, and had even slain their god Apis. See Bish. Lowth on Isaiah xix. 1.

⁴⁶ According to Plutarch, a personage of venerable aspect appeared to him (so at least reported the voice of Flattery) and repeated the following lines (Odys. iv.)

*Νῆτος ἔπειτά τις ἐστὶ πουκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πότιῳ,
 Ἀιγύπτου προπάροιθε (Φάρον δέ ἐκικλήσκουσι.)*

High o'er a gulphy sea, the Pharian isle
 Fronts the deep roar of disemboguing Nile.—POPE.

The difficulty is, in the lines that follow, Homer places the Pharos at the distance of a day's sail from the continent; and, on the contrary, it is generally allowed that the Pharos is only seven stadia, scarcely a mile, distant from Alexandria. To reconcile the matter, Mr. Pope would suppose, that the Poet meant to specify the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, from which the Pharos stands a day's sail.

His next achievement was of a different kind. In the depths of Lybia was situated the oracular temple of Jupiter Hammon. What was the origin of this superstition, is an inquiry foreign to the present purpose. It is sufficient to notice, that the antiquity of the establishment, which seems to have had its beginning in very remote and ignorant ages, together with the situation of the place, where the priests were secured from observation and control, and where every circumstance promoted the amazement and reverence of those votaries who resorted thither to worship, naturally contributed to the propagating of the many strange fictions concerning it which history has recorded.

Alexander formed the plan of rendering these fictions subservient to his views. The way to the oracle lay "through a vast desert, inhospitable and pathless; where the intense heat of the climate was rendered tenfold more violent by burning sands, the only footing the traveller had; and where none but persons well acquainted with the dreary wild, could find out the line by which they were to march: From the entrance of the desert to the temple, it was two hundred and thirty miles. Through this desert Alexander undertook to march his army. The very attempt had in it somewhat of prodigy. To give it more strongly this appearance, he with great art concealed from his men, that he had employed any guides to conduct him; in order to dispose them the better to believe that his instructions came from

B O O K
I.
Sect. I.
Temple of
Jupiter Ham-
mon.

Alexander
resolves to
visit it;
for what pur-
pose.

The artifice
employed

* Arrian, L. iii. c. 3, 4. Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 7.

B O O K heaven, and that the gods themselves appointed
 I. supernatural guides; "two dragons," according to
 Sect. I. Ptolemy, "two ravens," according to Aristobulus⁴⁸;
 the difference between whose accounts may be con-
 sidered as a proof, that Alexander kept the matter
 even from those in whom he confided most on other
 occasions. Probably his trusty Augurs were the only
 persons in the secret.

In consulting
 the oracle.

Before he reached the temple, he had in like
 manner prepared every thing for his reception. The
 priests had received their lessons; and the oracle
 pronounced what Alexander wished it should. Most
 historians⁴⁹ agree, that the minister of Hammon
 saluted him as the son of the god; that when he
 inquired, whether any of the murderers of his father
 had escaped, the oracle replied, that *his* father was
 not mortal, but that the death of Philip was fully
 avenged. Upon his inquiring again, whether he was
 destined to conquer the world, the answer was,
 that Jupiter granted him that glory. Arrian omits
 these particular responses, and tells us in general,
 that Alexander declared, "the god had left him
 "nothing more to desire"⁵⁰. Ptolemy and Aristobulus
 were perhaps unwilling to disgrace themselves,
 by recording what they knew to be impious forgeries.
 It certainly appears, that from this period, Alexander
 began to discover to what a chimerical height his

⁴⁸ A flock of crows, says Plutarch (in Alexand.)

⁴⁹ Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. Quint. Curt.
 ubi sup.

⁵⁰ Ἀκαύσας ὅσα αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμοῦ ην, ὡς ἔλεγεν. Arrian, L. iii.

ambitious thoughts were soaring. With the Greeks, however, for some time at least, he used more caution, not daring to expose his favorite claim to divine honors to the severity of their ridicule. B O O K
I.
Sect. 1.

Whilst Alexander was thus employed, Statira, wife to Darius, died. His demeanor towards her had been always noble. He paid her memory every honor in his power; expressed the deepest concern at her death, and commanded, that her obsequies should be solemnized with as much magnificence as they could have been, had she died in full possession of royal splendor. Statira dies.

Tireus⁹², one of Statira's eunuchs, upon her death made his escape from the camp, and brought Darius the account. The King, who loved her tenderly, broke out into the most passionate lamentations, bewailing her loss, that she should have ended her days in such an abject state oppressed with the miseries of captivity, and that after death she was likely to be deprived of those honors, which should have graced her obsequies. "Lament not for these things, O King!" said the eunuch; "for neither did Statira, while she lived, nor do any of the royal captives, feel the least diminution of their former fortune, except it be the having lost the light of thy countenance, which the great Oromasdes will again cause to shine upon them: and, far from being deprived of her due obsequies, Statira was honored with the tears of her very

The tidings
are brought
to Darius.

⁹² Plut. in Alexand. Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 10. Arrian, L. iv. c. 20.

B O O K

I.

Sect. I.

His suspi-
cions;

“ enemies; for, terrible as Alexander is in battle,
“ he is equally mild in using his victories.”

The eunuch's words excited the darkest suspicions
in the mind of Darius. “ Tell me then,” said he,
taking the eunuch aside, “ if thou hast not yet
“ revolted to the Macedonians, as the fortune of
“ Persia has; tell me, as thou revearest the light of
“ Mithra, and this right hand of thy King, is not
“ the death of Statira the least of what I have to
“ lament? and, amidst all our calamities, had not
“ our disgrace been less, if we had met with a
“ more savage foe? For, what but the tenderest
“ engagement could induce a young Prince thus to
“ honor the wife of his enemy!”

removed.

Tireus, humbling his face to the earth, entreated
Darius not to harbour a thought so unworthy of
himself, so injurious to Alexander, and so disrespectful
to the memory of his excellent Queen; nor to deprive
himself of that reflection, which must administer the
highest consolation to him, that Alexander, whose
superiority in arms he had felt, was superior also to
human nature; assuring him with the most solemn
oaths, that Alexander was even more to be admired
for the propriety of his behaviour to the captive
Princesses, than for the valor he exerted against
Darius.

Darius's ad-
miration of
Alexander.

Darius, lifting up his eyes to heaven, is said to
have thus expressed himself: “ Ye gods, the
“ guardians of our births, and who watch over the
“ fortunes of kingdoms, grant me to re-establish the
“ State of Persia, and to leave it prosperous as I
“ found it, that, blessed with victory, I may have

“ it in my power to return to Alexander the kindnesses which my dearest pledges have experienced from him. But if the fated term of this Empire is now come, and the glory of the Persians must have an end, may none but Alexander sit on the throne of Cyrus ! ”

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When we meet with these sentiments, we can scarcely forbear wishing, that the prince capable of having uttered them, had never known the baneful influence of absolute power.

Some historians tell us, that upon this event the Persian King sent a third embassy to Alexander, with much larger offers than before. But neither Arrian nor Plutarch make mention of that particular.

Darius, who saw no other decision than that of arms was to be expected, and still possessing the fond notion, that the strength of an army consisted in its numbers, sent to levy forces through all his provinces. There assembled, accordingly, a prodigious multitude; a million of foot, says Arrian, and forty thousand horse, with some elephants, and two hundred armed chariots. And as the successor of Cyrus had been encouraged to believe, that the defeat at Issus was altogether owing to his having been shut up within narrow defiles, where he could not avail himself of his superiority, he now chose for his ground a plain of great extent, near the village of Gaugamela⁵² in Aturia, a province of Assyria; having

Darius prepares again for battle.

⁵² The name signifies *the house or body of the camel*; so called, because Darius Hytaspis appointed this district for the maintenance of the camel, to which he owed his preservation in his flight out of Scythia. Strab. xvi. Plut. in Alex.

BOOK given directions, that every hillock should be
 I. levelled, for his army and chariots to have room to
 Sect. 1. act without interruption.

Formidable
 appearance of
 the Persian
 army.

Alexander was on his march through the Upper Asia⁵³, and had passed the Tigris in search of Darius when advice was brought him, that the Persians were near. At sight of them, the Greeks, accustomed as they had been to engage with numerous armies, were in some degree astonished. As far as the eye could reach, nothing was to be seen but arms, military ensigns, chariots, and all the parade of war. And from every part of the plain below, arose a deep murmur, hoarse as the surges of a tempestuous sea. Alexander had advanced in order of battle. He thought it nevertheless advisable to encamp, and to postpone the engagement till the ensuing morning, that his men might have an opportunity of viewing the enemy at leisure, and of recovering from the impression which, it appeared, the sight had at first made on them. The remainder of the day, besides performing⁵⁴ the

⁵³ Arrian. L. iii. c. 7 & seq. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. Plutarch in Alexand. Quint. Cur. L. iv. c. 12 & seq.

⁵⁴ Plutarch says, that after the Macedonian army were gone to repose, Alexander, attended by Aristander the Augur only, went through certain private rites, and performed a sacrifice *ἱεῖα* to Apollo, as it stands in the printed text; but Amyot, as Xylander informs us, instead of *ἱεῖα*, found in several manuscripts *φόβος* to fear. If this is the true reading, as there is reason to believe it is, it shows what Alexander himself thought of the consternation of his army, and what induced Parmenio to give the advice, which we find he afterwards gave.

See Plut. Xylandri in Alex.

proper sacrifices", he employed with Parmenio in reconnoitring the situation of the opposite army, and in examining the ground on which the battle was to be fought.

When he had retired to his tent, Parmenio came to him again, and counselled him to take advantage of the night to attack the enemy. Parmenio himself was doubtful of the event, and thought the boldest heart must be appalled at encountering such a host of foes in open day. "No, Parmenio," replied Alexander, "I will not *steal* a victory." This spirited answer, historians observe, though in appearance that of a young man, was the result of cool and judicious thought. The enemy, he reflected, might be apprehensive of such a design, and therefore on their guard against it; many disasters might befall his own men in the dark; they might mistake friends for foes; they might lose each other amidst such a confused multitude, and be overpowered; the enemy could not have before their eyes the bold onset and dreadful execution of his troops; and therefore the darkness would be void of terror, which would otherwise operate on them with full force: the Macedonians, besides, were ignorant of the country; and, if suc-

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Parmenio's
advice.

Alexander's
answer:

wisdom of it.

"It was perhaps on this occasion, that Alexander employed the artifice mentioned by Frontinus (L. i. c. 11.) by means of some medicated liquor, he inscribed the hand of the Aruspex with certain characters, inverted, importing a promise of victory, which being laid on the warm liver of the victim, left there a legible impression. The miracle was immediately communicated to the army with great success.—See also Polyæni Stratagem. L. iv. c. 3.

B O O K celsful, could not pursue the enemy ; if unsuccessful,
I. they could not escape.

Sect. I. It appeared afterwards⁵⁶, that Alexander had conjectured rightly. The Persians, apprehensive of a surprise, had remained under arms until morning, which very circumstance was of considerable detriment to them. Wasted with fatigue, and subdued by repeated alarms in the night, they were less able to execute the business of the ensuing day ; whereas the Macedonians, to whose refreshment Alexander had paid particular attention, approached in full vigor of mind and body.

**Battle of
Gaugamela.**

A minute detail of this battle⁵⁷ belongs rather to the military science. It will be sufficient to mention the more remarkable incidents.

Darius's plan.

Darius's design was, to inclose the Greeks by his superiority of numbers ; and by means of his armed chariots, to penetrate the Macedonian phalanx, in which Alexander's principal strength was supposed to consist.

**Alexander's
judicious ar-
rangements,**

Alexander was aware of this intention. He placed, therefore a number of slingers and bowmen in the front of his line, with order, that as the chariots moved towards them, they should, by frightening the horses, and plying them with stones and darts, endeavour to drive them back on the enemy. If this failed, they were to aim at disabling the horses, or to kill the drivers, in order to get possession of the chariots ; but in case any of them still escaped, and

⁵⁶ Arrian. L. iii. c. 10, 11.

⁵⁷ OLYMP, cxii, 2. BEFORE CHRIST 331.

reached the phalanx, then the Macedonians were to open to right and left, and permit them to pass to the rear, where there was a corps of reserve appointed to take care of them.

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He had also disposed a number of detached parties, whose instructions were, to observe the enemy's flying squadrons, and prevent their taking him in flank.

If the Persians should carry their point, and inclose him, in that case the extreme ranks, flank and rear, were to face about instantly, to front the enemy on every side.

His orders were punctually executed. The chariots bore down on the Macedonians, and they were soon rendered useless. Repeated attempts were made to take him in flank without effect. Whilst Alexander, at the head of the right wing, after having broken the left wing of the enemy, though composed of the Scythian horse, by far the best corps Darius had, turned directly on the main body of the Persian army; and drawing up his men in the form of a wedge⁵⁸, upon a small front, supported by a great depth, opened to himself a way into the midst of them, pushing on to the centre, with loud shoutings and great slaughter; probably with a view of taking the King prisoner, who, according to the Persian custom, had his station there, and was, as usual, easily distinguished by his magnificent dress and stately chariot.

attended with
success.

⁵⁸ Ὠσπερ ἔμβολον. Arrian Gronov. L. iii. c. xiv. p. 124.

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Sect. I.

Flight of Darius.

Alexander pursues, but is recalled by Parmenio.

Renews the pursuit in vain.

Darius had hitherto preserved "some appearance of firmness; but as soon as he saw this torrent of war rushing towards him, his strength of mind forsook him, and he betook himself to flight; which completed the defeat of his army in this part, every man following the King's example.

Alexander immediately pursued, and had probably soon come up with Darius, if a courier from his left wing had not brought him back to the field of battle. This wing, of which Parmenio had the command, had been sorely pressed by the enemy, and was giving way. Alexander flew to his general's assistance; but that movement was unnecessary; the dispute was already decided, and a total discomfiture of the Persians had taken place.

Intent on overtaking Darius, as soon as he saw the victory secure, he allowed his men but a few hours repose, and set off again at midnight, continuing the pursuit as far as Arbela", upward of seventy miles

"According to Diodorus, Darius for some time showed both conduct and valor; but his charioteer having been slain, and a report prevailing, that the King himself had fallen, the Persians fled, and Darius was obliged to follow their example.

"Gaugamela being only an inconsiderable village, and Arbela a place of some note, historians have thought proper to name the battle from the latter, though fought at such a distance from it. Arrian (vi. 11.) ridicules this affectation. "As well," says he, "might they call the battle of Salamis the battle of "the Corinthian Isthmus."

Archbishop Usher (Annal 312.) thinks, that the distance could not be more than about thirteen or fourteen miles, somewhat beyond a hundred stadia. Arrian, who seems to have been well informed, and with whom the several ancient writers agree, affirms expressly, that the distance was not less than from five to six hundred furlongs.

from the field of battle; but was at length obliged to B O O K
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desist, Darius having outstripped him.

By the best accounts, the Macedonians had only Sect. I.
forty thousand foot, and seven thousand horse, not The Macedonians inferior in numbers.
a twentieth of the enemy. But on the one side, were
a tumultuary multitude, on the other, was experience, and discipline, and valor.

Alexander himself certainly deserves great praise, Alexander's discernment and intrepidity.
not merely for his personal courage, in which he
seems generally to have exceeded, but for his discernment and judicious precautions before the engagement began; and especially for that admirable presence of mind, the natural companion of intrepidity, which he appears to have preserved through the whole action. His answer to Parmenio deserves particularly to be remembered: during the heat of the battle, when apprized by Parmenio, that the enemy had fallen on the camp, and were pillaging it. "Bid him not mind them," replied Alexander, "let us make sure of victory; the pillage will of course be ours."

What the loss was on either side, ancient writers The loss on the side of the Persians, and on that of the Macedonians.
are not agreed. Arrian relates, that of the Persians there fell three hundred thousand, and the number of prisoners was greater. Whereas Alexander, he says, lost only a hundred men and a thousand horses; most of the latter being destroyed in pursuing the enemy. But this account seems to be incredible.

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S E C T I O N II.

C O N T E N T S.

Surrender of Babylon: of Susa; of Persepolis; and of Pasargadae with their treasures—The effects of this rich plunder—Darius treated perfidiously by Bessus; and murdered by the associates of that traitor—Change in the manners of Alexander—He puts to death Philotas; and Parmenio—Kills Clitus—Feels compunction—Is corrupted by flatterers—Seeks to obtain divine honors—Is opposed by Callisthenes—Resents it—Callisthenes charged with encouraging a conspiracy against Alexander—Is put to death—Alexander finds it necessary to divert the attention of his army to other scenes—Reduces several of the Indian tribes—Is opposed by Porus—Defeats him—Spreads devastation to the Hyphasis—Proposes to pass on to the Ganges—And to conquer the whole world—His soldiers refuse to proceed—He is highly displeased—Obliged to yield to their wishes—His vanity.

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Consequences
of the defeat of
Darius.

THE victory of Gaugamela put an end to the empire of Darius. The several nations of Asia¹, who had hitherto followed his fortunes, now considered him as a lost Prince, to whom allegiance was no longer due; and most of them prepared to pay their homage to the conqueror. Among other persons of distinction, Mazaeus, a Persian satrap of high rank,

¹ Quint. Cur. L. v. c. 1. Arrian L. iii. c. 16. & seq. Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 7.

who, by his gallant behaviour in the late battle, had nearly wrested the victory from Parmenio, made his submission, inviting the King to Babylon, of which he was governor. The peaceable surrender of such a city, the capital of Assyria, the siege of which might have retarded the progress of his arms considerably, and whose example promised to be of extensive influence, could not but be exceedingly flattering to Alexander. He made his entrance into it, in all the magnificence of triumphal pomp, attended by the magi and great men of Babylon, amidst loud acclamations of joy from the inhabitants, who had long borne impatiently the Persian yoke. He spent some days among his new subjects, to whom he made himself highly acceptable, by commanding, that their temples should be rebuilt; particularly that of Belus, which Xerxes had laid in ruins.

He then passed on to Susa, which in like manner opened its gates to him. And from Susa he advanced towards Persepolis. The way into Persia lay through narrow streights, formed by the mountains that encompass it. The Uxii, a nation of mountaineers, who had preserved their independence even under the Persian monarchs, had possessed themselves of one of these defiles. The Macedonian soon dislodged them, and would have put every man to the sword, had not Syfigambis interceded in their favor. At her intercession, Alexander contented himself with imposing on them an annual tribute of cattle, all the wealth known among them. At the pass called *the gates of Persia*, Ariobarzanes, with a considerable force, had intrenched himself. But this difficulty

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Surrender of
Babylon:

of Susa.

Alexander
defeats the
Uxii.Forces the
gates of Persia.

B o o k the son of Philip also surmounted, and, without
I. further opposition, reached Persepolis.

Sect. 2. Some historians² tell us of Alexander's being met
Enters Perse- here by certain Greeks, whom the Persians, in the
polis. course of former wars, had carried into captivity, and had disfigured and maimed with a savage barbarity. But there is reason to believe this account to be fabulous, Arrian not making the least mention of it. Probably it was invented as an apology for those cruel executions of the Asiatics, of which Alexander appears to have been afterwards frequently guilty.

Takes Pasargadae.

Treasures found :

The treasures which he found here, and at Pasargadae, a city not far from Persepolis, where the Persian Kings were wont to be inaugurated, together with the riches of Susa and Babylon, surpassed what his most sanguine hopes could have promised him. The silver and gold alone amounted to upwards of thirty millions sterling; besides jewels and precious things of inestimable value, in so vast a quantity, that, if Plutarch³ may be believed, there was sufficient to load twenty thousand mules and five thousand camels. He also found at Susa the brazen statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton, which had been carried away from Athens by Xerxes: Alexander took care to have them sent back to that city.

their effect on Alexander and the Macedonians.

This excessive opulence had been a source of corruption and ruin to the Persians; and it now proved fatal also to the Greeks. The rough Macedonians began to have a relish for Asiatic luxuries; and many

² Diod. Sic. Quint. Cur.

³ In Alexand.

of them, in the sumptuousness of their dress, the delicacy of their tables, the elegance and number of their attendants, and the profusion and richness of their perfumes, had already assumed more of the appearance of effeminate satraps, than of the leaders of a warlike nation *. Alexander himself, however he may be said to have censured these excesses, had given but too much occasion for them; the profuse manner in which he had bestowed those treasures among his servants, furnishing them with temptations to voluptuous indulgences, and with the means of enjoying them; thus making wealth the reward of military merit, which must always, in the end, prove destructive of it.

His own conduct also, after some time, was far from displaying an example, which a good Prince should exhibit to his people; and, whether from natural inclination, or corrupted by Asiatic manners, he appears to have been too often fond of mixing in scenes of revelry and intemperance.

It was on such an occasion, as Plutarch informs us, that he was prevailed on by Thais, the courtesan to set fire to the royal palace of Persepolis; a structure held in universal admiration for its beauty and magnificence, even in that country, where the eye was familiarized to such objects.

The King, on a certain day, had made a great entertainment for his friends, to which, such was the indelicacy of manners, women of Thais's character were admitted. When, flushed with wine, "This day," cried Thais, "has made me amends

* See Plutarch's Alexander.

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The palace
of Persepolis
burnt, &

at the insti-
gation of
Thais.

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“ for all my toilsome travels through Asia, by putting
 “ it in my power to trample on the proud courts of
 “ Persia’s King’s. But how much more glorious
 “ would it be, to fire the palace of Xerxes, who laid
 “ Athens in ruins; and to have it said in future times,
 “ that the women of Alexander’s train have more
 “ signally avenged the cause of Greece against the
 “ Persians, than all the generals before him have
 “ been able to do!”

The proposal was received with loud applause, and carried into immediate execution; the King himself snatching up the first torch, and leading the way. Arrian⁵ makes no mention of Thais. He only tells us, that Alexander laid the palace of Persepolis in ashes, in revenge of what Xerxes had a hundred and fifty years before done to Greece. Parmenio endeavoured to prevent this act of phrenzy. But Alexander would not be controled; though he afterwards, it is said, repented of it.

Alexander
 resumes the
 pursuit of
 Darius.

It was now time for him to turn his thoughts to Darius, who, assisted by able and faithful servants, might have improved to useful purpose the long interval which Alexander’s dissipation afforded him. A report, that the Persian monarch had raised numerous forces, and was preparing to renew the war, called the Macedonian from Persepolis⁶; possibly the artifice of some honest Macedonian, who saw with concern his present inactivity.

Bessus’s per-
 fidy.

The unhappy Darius had the fate which all def-

⁵ Lib. iii. c. 18.

⁶ Arrian, ubi sup.

potic princes in their fall generally meet with. Bessus, who attended him in his flight, under a semblance of zeal, concealed the most treacherous designs. He had advised him to take refuge in Bactriana, of which he was governor, where he promised powerful resources, that would enable him to dispute the prize of empire once more. His real design was, to keep possession of his person, and, under sanction of his name, to usurp the regal authority, secure of removing him out of the way, when no longer necessary. Darius soon found reason, in the insolence with which he was treated, to suspect Bessus, and refused to follow him. Provoked at which, the villain, throwing off all disguise, had the assurance to put his sovereign in chains, and to force him along with him.

Such was the state of things, at the time Alexander resumed the thought of pursuing Darius⁷. Before he had proceeded far, he received information of the treason of Bessus; and, immediately taking with him a body of light horse, gave directions for the rest of his army to hasten after him, and pressed the pursuit with the utmost expedition. He had proceeded in this manner some days, when a Macedonian, named Polystratus, found Darius in his chariot at a small distance from the road, pierced with wounds and bathed in his blood. It seems Satisbarzanes and Barzaentes, two Persian lords of Bessus's party, had shot him through with their darts, because he did not hasten on with that precipitation which

Darius murdered by his subjects.

⁷ Ibid. Quint. Cur. L. v. c. 13. Plut. in Alexand.

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their fears made them think necessary ; and had disabled the cattle , and killed the servants that drove them. The only attendant he had left was a favorite dog , whom he had bred^{*}. He had just strength enough to ask for some drink to quench his thirst. And Polystratus having brought water from a neighbouring spring ; “ Now indeed ,” said the unfortunate Prince , “ do I feel myself completely wretched , “ since I am not able to reward thee for this act of “ kindness. But Alexander will not let thee go “ unrewarded. The gods also will recompense “ Alexander for his humanity to my mother , my “ wife , and my children. Tell him , I give him “ my hand , for I give it to thee in his stead ;” so saying , he expired. When Alexander came up , he lamented affectionately over him ; and , covering the body with his robe , commanded it to be removed to Persia , and interred in the royal sepulchre.

Fate of Bessus :

Alexander continued his pursuit of Bessus , who had assumed the ensigns of royalty , together with the name of Artaxerxes⁹ ; a circumstance which probably made him appear still more guilty. It may be sufficient here to observe , that vengeance at length overtook this perfidious traitor , and in a manner worthy of his crime. After flying from province to province , and using every artifice to elude his pursuers , his associates in guilt delivered him into the hands of Ptolemy , by whom he was brought to Alexander ; who took care to vindicate the majesty

^{*} Ælian. hist. animal. L. vi. c. 25.

⁹ Arrian , L. iii. c. 25.

of kings by the exemplary punishment inflicted on him ¹⁰. It is, however, matter of surprise, that Satisbarzanes, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his sovereign, was, upon his submission, pardoned and promoted. Are we to think, it was not so much the shedding of Darius's blood, as the usurpation of sovereignty, that Alexander thought himself interested in punishing? — The reader will, doubtless, have pleasure in being informed, that, notwithstanding this favor, Satisbarzanes did not escape unpunished. He proved as perfidious to Alexander, as he had been to his own prince; and fell, as he deserved ¹¹.

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of Satisbar-
zanes:

There is one circumstance ¹² in the close of Darius's fortunes, which deserves notice. At the battle of Gaugamela, he had near him a body of Greek mercenaries, mostly Phocians. When, urged by his fears, he fled from the field of battle, this faithful band continued to attend him; and not only rejected the proposals, with which Bessus and his accomplices endeavoured to gain them over to their party, but even made offer to Darius, if he would intrust his person to them, to defend him, at the hazard of their lives, against the violence which they perceived was in agitation; but that unfortunate and too gene-

of Greek
mercenaries
in Darius's
service.

¹⁰ Arrian, L. iii. c. 30. Aristobulus and Ptolemy, from whose memoirs Arrian wrote, relate his death differently. Plutarch also, and Quintus Curtius, give us a circumstantial account, but altogether different, of the manner of his death.

¹¹ See Arrian, L. iii. c. 25 & 28.

¹² Quint. Cur. L. v. c. 12.

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rous prince refused to be indebted to strangers for a protection, which he could not obtain from his own subjects; thinking, perhaps, that to avow his distrust of Bessus would only precipitate matters, and serve as an excuse for the treason he meditated. When these gallant Greeks perceived that Darius's fate was not to be prevented, they declined to have farther connexion with the traitors, and struck into another road¹³. They proceeded afterwards to Alexander, who, in consideration of their noble spirit, forgave them, and employed most of them in his service.

Fidelity of
Artabazus
and his sons.

It is also remarkable, that of all the Persians, none preserved their allegiance inviolate to Darius in his misfortunes, but Artabazus and his sons. Their fidelity had its recompence. Alexander received them at his court, and held them ever after in the highest esteem.

Alexander
reduces a
number of
extensive
provinces.

Bessus seemed to be the principal object of the expedition in which Alexander was now engaged, the important purposes of conquest¹⁴ were however, not forgotten. In the course of his progress, Alexander saw a succession of extensive provinces still opening before him; and he took care, as he passed through them, either to accept the submission of the several nations, or to reduce them to obedience¹⁵. Of

¹³ Arrian, L. iii. c. 18.

¹⁴ See Arrian, L. iii. c. 23 & seq.

¹⁵ It was in the course of this expedition, when he was at Zadracarta in Hyrcania, that he is said by certain romantic writers of his history, (See Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 5.) to have had an interview with Thalestris, queen of the Amazons, who, drawn by the fame of his exploits, came with a numerous

this number were the inhabitants of Hyrcania, Bactriana, Ariana, Drangiana, Archofia, Sogdiana, and, in general, of all the countries from the Caspian sea to the Indus, as far northward as the river Jaxartes¹⁶, which, in those days, was the Scythian boundary on this side. Some of these nations, nevertheless, seem not to have been wanting in natural courage, and to have had the advantage of strong holds, which might have bidden their enemies defiance. The rock of Sogdiana, particularly, and that of Chorienes, in the country of the Paraetacae, (if the accounts of ancient historians may be depended on) seem to have been nearly impregnable. They were both of an amazing height, and of so steep an ascent, that (even when there was no enemy) the foot could scarcely find a step to rest on; and being surrounded also by rapid torrents and by vast precipices, in which the winter-snow remained collected to an immense depth, whosoever slipped in attempting

retinue from the banks of the Thermodon, to visit him, in hopes of having lineage by him. But, besides that neither Aristobulus nor Ptolemy make mention of such an adventure, there is good reason to doubt, whether such a people ever existed. The fable, it seems, was the invention of Onesicritus, who served in these very wars, but was fond of the embellishments of fiction. One day, when he was reading this part of his history to Lyfimachus, one of Alexander's chief captains, at that time King of Thrace, "Where was I," said he, smiling, "when all this happened?"—See Plutarch in Alexand. Consult also Arrian, L. vii. c. 13; and Strabo Casaub. L. xi. p. 348.

¹⁶ The Greeks mistook it for the Tanais. Arrian, L. iii. c. 30.
— Consult Strabo, L. xi. p. 356, 357.

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the dangerous path, fell, never to rise again. These rocks, besides, were well garrisoned, and supplied with provisions for a length of years. Alexander, however, partly by stratagem, partly by the terror of his arms, got these and every other place of strength into his power; the wretched inhabitants, wherever he met with resistance, being put to the sword without mercy. It were of little use to follow him through all the scenes of carnage and desolation, of which his plan of operations was productive. It may be sufficient to say, that not only those, who might be supposed to have shared in Bessus's crime, but also every people, who appeared to be in possession of any portion of liberty, and had the spirit to defend it, felt the utmost severity of relentless war¹⁷.

Attempts the
Scythians.

The Scythians, famed as they were for their poverty and simplicity of manners, could not escape. This people, known since by the name of Tartars, occupied, as some of their descendents still do, a vast tract of country to the north and north west of Europe and Asia; and were said to have been victorious over every nation, that had attempted to subdue them. And, what might have induced the Macedonian the more to peace, their adjoining tribes had sent him an embassy with a tender of friendship. In return, he commissioned certain persons to pass into Scythia, and to report their manner of living, and in what way he might most effectually reduce them into subjection. With this view, he built a city on the Jaxartes, by means of which he might

¹⁷ Arrian, L. iv. c. 1 & seq.

have commanded, at pleasure, a passage into their country. But his wonted success failed him here. After making repeated inroads into their borders, and destroying a few of their towns, he saw it availed nothing. They drew him into situations, where he and his troops were in danger of perishing: they harassed him by the abruptness of their attacks, and the quickness of their retreats: they surrounded parties of his men, when they least expected it, and cut them in pieces without mercy¹⁸: and if ever he joined battle with them, though victorious, he found it impracticable to penetrate those deep deserts, of which none but Scythians could tell the extent, and in which they were always secure of finding refuge. Arrian¹⁹ says, they at last offered peace, which Alexander accepted. If such an offer was ever made, there is reason to believe, that a few only of the least considerable of their tribes, were concerned in it. Probably Alexander was not displeased to have a pretence, whatever it might be, for turning his arms against other nations, less capable of resistance.

Whilst the son of Olympias was employed in adding to the number of his conquests, he was losing ground in the affections of his people. Many causes contributed to this; the haughty port he assumed; his absurd ambition of being accounted a

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baffled by
them.Becomes
haughty, sus-
picious, and
tyrannical.

¹⁸ In one action, it appears from Curtius (vii. 7.) he sustained such loss, that it was made death to those who survived, to divulge what had happened. Probably, this is the action spoken of (Arrian, iv. 6.) in which he tells us, only forty horse and three hundred foot escaped.

¹⁹ Arrian, L. iv. c. 15.

B O O K I. god ; the contempt he affected to have for Macedonian manners ; the pleasure which he seemed to take in the servile honors he received from the Asiatics ; and , above all , that suspicious and cruel disposition , which now began to appear strongly in him , and of which he had lately given fatal proofs in the case of the unhappy Philotas , and especially in that of Parmenio . This melancholy transaction happened soon after Darius's death , when Alexander was on his expedition in pursuit of Bessus ; and was then omitted , that it might not break in upon the narrative of the operations depending on that expedition . It may , not improperly , have its place here .

Character of
Parmenio.

Philotas was son to Parmenio , who had served with great distinction under Philip , and had been always honored with particular marks of confidence by his royal master . When Alexander passed into Asia , Parmenio , in like manner , continued on every occasion to approve himself a faithful and zealous servant ; and he enjoyed so large a share of confidence , that in the three great battles , which completed the overthrow of the Persian empire , it was to him the command of the left wing was intrusted , whilst the King himself charged at the head of the other . In all these actions , the only imputation that ever lay against him was , that his anxiety for his master's safety sometimes betrayed him into over-cautious counsels . He was at this time upwards of seventy years of age ; of three sons , he had only Philotas left (the two others having fallen in the service of Alexander ;) and he had been lately sent to command in Media , which office he discharged with the strictest vigilance and most unblemished integrity .

What Parmenio had been in his days of vigor, Philotas was now; of acknowledged courage; generous; polished; perhaps somewhat too magnificent in his manner of living; beloved by the soldiers; and highly in favor with Alexander, who had advanced him to the first military honors.

A²⁰ certain Macedonian, named Cebalinus, had informed Philotas of some design carried on against Alexander's life by one Dymnus²¹, and other persons unknown, desiring he would acquaint the King with the particulars. Philotas promised he would; but whether he thought the information frivolous, or whether, as his enemies pretended, from worse motives, he neglected to perform that promise. Cebalinus, discovering this neglect, contrived to have his information conveyed to the King through another channel; at the same time acquainting Alexander, that he had first made his application to Philotas, but without effect.

This account had already raised doubts of Philotas in Alexander's mind, when an unlucky incident added to them. Dymnus, the accused person was sent for; who, to prevent the extorting any confession from him, laid violent hands on himself. This indication of guilt convinced the King, that some dark purpose had been in agitation; and not knowing on whom to fix his suspicions, he turned them on Philotas, whose motive for concealing the information

²⁰ Arrian, L. iii. c. 26. Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 7 & seq. Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 8.

²¹ Quintus Curtius, according to custom, has set off this story with many romantic circumstances.

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was now interpreted into an argument of his being privy to the treason. Philotas had nevertheless owned his fault to the King, with the strongest protestations, that his imprudence arose altogether from his mean opinion of the informer; and, in appearance, had satisfied Alexander of his innocence.

It was exceedingly improbable, that a person, with such means in his power as Philotas possessed, should, during two whole days (for this time had elapsed between the first and second information) have remained altogether indifferent about the matter, had he really been engaged in such a conspiracy; and should have taken no step either to remove Cebalinus, or to apprize Dymnus and his accomplices of the danger that threatened them.

tortured.

But his services and merit were too conspicuous, to be seen without attracting envy. Some officious counsellors, among whom history mentions even Craterus, under pretence of concern for Alexander's personal safety, took advantage of the King's weak moments, and prevailed on him to have Philotas examined by torture. He bore this cruelty at first with great fortitude, and persisted in asserting his innocence. His enemies, nevertheless, were too much interested in his destruction, to permit him to escape. They renewed the question, with every circumstance of barbarity, which that inhuman mode of examination admits of: exhausted by anguish, he confessed whatever they would have him confess, and probably whatever had existed, and was instantly shot to death.

and put to death.

Parmenio put to death.

Parmenio, Philotas's aged father, still remained. It was thought expedient to involve him also in his

son's guilt. Some historians²² relate, that Philotas had criminated his parent when in the agonies of torture; but the falshood of this appears from Arrian²³. There were, however, powerful reasons why Parmenio should not escape. He was a man of exalted character; adored by the army; and had been injured in such a manner, that it was not to be imagined he could ever forgive it.

The mean stratagem indeed made use of in order to hasten his destruction, proves abundantly, that the King himself was conscious of his innocence. The person pitched upon to go into Media on this errand, where Parmenio commanded, was Polydamas. Parmenio's friend! of whom the old general could not entertain suspicion. To effect his purpose the more securely, he received directions to arrive at an hour when Parmenio might be supposed to have retired to rest; and before he saw him, to communicate his instructions to certain trusty persons, who might be easily wrought upon to assist in the bloody business which was meditated.

Thus prepared, in the morning he waited on Parmenio, as if just arrived, and delivered him a letter from the King, and another as from his son, the King having sealed it with Philotas's signet. The King's letter Parmenio, from respect, opened first, which being written in his usual style of regard and confidence, he read with much pleasure; and, turning to Polydamas, "Will the

²² See Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 11.

²³ See Arrian, L. iii. c. 26; and Plutarch in Alexand.

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"King," said he, "never put an end to his toils! he tells me, he purposes " marching against the Arachosians." He was then preparing to open the letter from when Polydamas, Philotas, and the assassins who had accompanied him, plunged their poniards into his body, and laid him dead at their feet. A few soldiers at a distance were spectators of the deed; who spreading the alarm among the troops, they were ready to tear Polydamas, with his associates, in pieces; and could hardly be restrained, even when convinced that it had been done in obedience to the King's orders.

Alexander
gloomy and
violent.

In what light the Macedonians regarded these proceedings, was no secret to Alexander. It was still in his power to have removed much of the odium, under which he labored, by assuming a more gentle and conciliating deportment. But his pride would not permit him. The more he found himself the object of censure, the more gloomy and irritable did he become. He even persisted in avowing his disregard of the Macedonian customs, by the change of his dress, appearing now generally in the pompous garb of an eastern monarch. And, what rendered his conduct yet more offensive, he married a strange woman, Roxana, induced to it merely by the exterior charms she possessed; though in her situation there was somewhat exceedingly humiliating: she was among the prisoners taken at the surrender of the Sogdian rock; and was daughter of Oxyartes, a Bactrian, one of the associates²⁴ of the perfidious Bessus. These several circumstances the Mace-

²⁴ See Arrian, L. iii. c. 28.

donians did not fail to dwell upon with aggravation — A strange woman! a Barbarian! and the daughter of a traitor!

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Such was the general temper of his army, when Alexander's violence betrayed him into another action ²⁵, which, though it had not the same guilt of premeditation as that against Parmenio, was attended with circumstances not less aggravating.

Clitus has been already mentioned. He was a general of approved valor, and had saved Alexander's life at the Granicus. His sister, also, had nursed Alexander. On these accounts he was particularly dear to his master, notwithstanding his retaining all the roughness of the Macedonian character, which well became the gallant foldier, and in which the now prevailing Asiatic mode had not the power of making the least alteration. It was now a custom with the King, to give frequent entertainments to his officers, at which the laws of sobriety were not often observed. To one of these Clitus had been invited. When warmed with wine, the King's flatterers began to extol his exploits above those of all the ancient heroes and chieftains of Greece, ascribing every success, that had attended his arms, to him alone, and, at the same time, depreciating whatever Philip and his Macedonians had achieved. Clitus was fired. He answered them. Alexander, meanly enough, supported the sycophants. And Clitus again, without due regard to the condition in which he saw the

provoked by
Clitus.

²⁵ Arrian, L. iv. c. 8 & seq. Plutarch in Alexand. Quint. Cur. L. viii. c. 1.

B O O K King, retorted with great asperity; reproaching his
I. master with his Persian robe, and the favor now
Sect. 2. shown to barbarians, without whose intervention, he said, Macedonians could not even have access to their sovereign; “and yet, despised as we are,” continued he, “it was this arm that saved you from the sword of Spithridates; and these very Macedonians are the men, at the expense of whose blood you are now become so great, as to disdain to own Philip for your father, and to pretend yourself the son of Hammon.”

Alexander became transported with rage; and, looking round for a weapon, had instantly wreaked his vengeance on the offender, had not their common friends compelled Clitus to retire. But he not to be restrained by any representations, forced in again; when Alexander, wresting a javelin from the hand of one of his guards, smote him with it as he entered.

kills him.

Alexander's
compunction.

The bloody deed was no sooner committed, than Alexander recollected himself. The guilt of the action rushed upon his mind with all its aggravations—he had killed, with his own hand, his friend! his preserver!—and, snatching the javelin out of Clitus's body, he would have pierced himself with it, had not his guards interfered.

Improper
means em-
ployed to
pacify him.

Every means that humanity or adulation could suggest, were employed to pacify the King. Even the aids of superstition were called in. It was Bacchus²⁶, they told him, who had wrought the mischief. The King, it seems, had omitted certain

²⁶ See Arrian, L. iv. c. 9, 10.

sacrifices usually celebrated in honor of this god; and, in resentment for the neglect, he had taken this method of punishing him. Of what the King, therefore seemed to have done, the god was the author. Wretched the state of princes, when even their crimes are thus explained away! and the sources of instruction stopped up!

There was, however, on this occasion, an instance still more affecting, of the pernicious influence of servility and flattery²⁷. Among the King's attendants were two philosophers, Callisthenes and Anaxarchus. The first was a man of rigid virtue. He had been recommended to Alexander by Aristotle, as a valuable sage, on whose wisdom and integrity he might safely depend; and he appears to have supported this character, though his austere manners were not always acceptable to his master. At this conjuncture he behaved to the King with much tenderness, but without disgracing his principles. Incapable of attempting to justify the excesses, of which Alexander had been guilty, he endeavoured to bring him back to a proper sense of what he owed to the dignity of the regal office, with which he was invested, and to convince him, that the only reparation he had now to make was, to be more on his guard in future, against those fatal violences into which he had been hurried.

The other, Anaxarchus, rather a vile sophist than a philosopher, talked to his master as if he sought to erase from his mind every humane and generous

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Wise representations of
Callisthenes.

The servile
flattery of
Anaxarchus.

²⁷ Arrian, ubi sup. Plutarch in Alexand.

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sentiment. "What!" said he, "is the King cast down thus! Does not Alexander know, that justice is what he wills it to be? that his pleasure is the measure of right and wrong? *and therefore have the poets feigned, that JUSTICE IS SEATED ON THE THRONE OF JUPITER, because, wherever Supreme Power is, Justice is there also.*" Historians have observed, that Anaxarchus succeeded but too well. Alexander readily believed what the flattering sycophant inculcated, and became every day more haughty and more despotic.

Its effects on
Alexander.

From this time, he certainly appears to have expected from the Macedonians themselves, a more abject submission than he had hitherto ventured to require. The adventure of the temple of Hammon shows, even at an early period, what his views were. He could not seriously suppose himself a god; but he wished that others should believe him one. And in this idea, he had suffered himself to be fortified by the mean adulation of the sophists he was surrounded with, and by the servile prostrations with which the slavish Persians approached him.

Anaxarchus
proposes that
Alexander
should receive
divine honors;

It was agreed²² to try, whether the Macedonians might not be prevailed on to imitate the example. Accordingly, at a royal banquet, when the company began to be elevated, and every heart to open to festivity and cheerfulness the proposal was made in form by Anaxarchus. "There was no doubt," he said, "but such glorious exploits as Alexander had

²² It is evident from Arrian, (L. iv. c. 10.) that the matter had been concerted with Alexander.

“ achieved, challenged every honor the Mace-
 “ donians had to bestow. Neither Hercules, nor even
 “ Bacchus, had equalled what he had performed;
 “ and yet Macedon numbered them, though both
 “ of foreign extraction, among her gods. How much
 “ more justly might the like honors be paid to a prince,
 “ who was their own, and in whose glories they
 “ were directly interested?—When he was removed
 “ from among them, divine honors must of course
 “ be his; and therefore to pay them now, was only
 “ an anticipation of zealous homage, which must be
 “ the more acceptable to Alexander, as he should
 “ thereby have an opportunity, whilst present with
 “ them, of enjoying their grateful adoration.”

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Surprise and indignation sat painted on the counte-
 nance of every honest Macedonian. Whilst the per-
 sons who had been appointed to be the principal per-
 formers in the farce answered Anaxarchus's proposal
 with a burst of applause, and were preparing to carry
 the scheme into immediate execution; when Callist-
 henes interposed:

“ Whatever ¹⁹ honors can be paid to mortals, are, Callisthenes
opposes it.

²⁰ Speeches of this kind are often considered as the wanton
 sportings of the historian's fancy. This speech deserves to be
 thought of differently. From the principles avowed in it, and
 the fate of Callisthenes in consequence of those principles,
 we are warranted to conjecture, that Arrian had it from those
 respectable memoirs of Aristobulus and Ptolemy, which are
 known to have been the ground work of his history. The cause,
 which Callisthenes pleads here, was in fact the cause of Greece,
 that those sons of freedom should not have their necks bent
 down to the same servile yoke, to which the Asiatics had been
 subjected; and therefore it was a cause to which those two

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“ I confess, O Anaxarchus, justly due to Alexander.
 “ Among all the commanders recorded in the annals
 “ of time, he is, I acknowledge, the first in counsel,
 “ the first in valor; and of all the princes of the earth,
 “ he is beyond comparison the most illustrious. But
 “ still the immortal gods are far above him, and very
 “ different are the honors due to them. It were
 “ blasphemy to confound the one with the other.
 “ What would Alexander himself say, should any
 “ person presume to usurp those exalted honors of
 “ royalty, which belong to him. And shall the gods
 “ be less jealous of what belongs to them, and neglect
 “ to vindicate their majesty? — Were it ever to be
 “ supposed, that the King could be capable of enter-
 “ taining such presumptuous thoughts, you yourself,
 “ O Anaxarchus, who are admitted to share his
 “ private hours, should be the first to reclaim him
 “ from an error so prejudicial to his fame, so incon-
 “ sistent with his piety.— You surely must have for-
 “ gotten, who he is, to whom you propose to pay
 “ adoration; not a Cambyfes, not a Xerxes, but
 “ the son of Philip, the descendent of princes who
 “ governed Macedon, not with arbitrary sway, but
 “ according to the rule of law.— If, however, O
 “ Alexander, you are taught to believe, that
 “ you owe regard to the customs of those nume-
 “ rous Asiatic nations among whom you are; and
 “ that we Greeks, because few in number, are

officers, at least at that time, must have wished well, and the defence of which they must with pleasure have recorded.

This noble monument of Grecian manners, the learned reader will find at length in Arrian, L. iv. c. 11.

to

“ to be looked upon as of no account, let me recal to
 “ your remembrance, that this war was undertaken
 “ by you, not that Greece should become dependent
 “ upon Asia, but Asia the dependent of Greece.—
 “ Consider besides, in what difficulties such claims
 “ must involve you, when you return home. For is
 “ it to be imagined, that the gallant Greeks, those
 “ spirited sons of liberty, will ever fall prostrate
 “ before you? or, is this reproach meant only for
 “ your Macedonians? or, shall the barbarians alone
 “ honor you as a god? and, from all the rest of your
 “ empire, will you be content to receive what a
 “ mortal ought to be content with? — Neither let
 “ the practice of the princes of this empire tempt
 “ any one to imitate them. Cyrus, they tell us, had
 “ divine honors paid to him. Admit that he had;
 “ god as he was, the Scythians, poor but free, chas-
 “ tised his insolence. Others of the same nation
 “ put Darius, though equally honored, to flight.
 “ Xerxes, revered likewise as a god, escaped with
 “ difficulty from the vengeful arms of Athens
 “ and Sparta. Clearchus and Xenophon bade
 “ defiance to Artaxerxes, who, like his prede-
 “ cessors, was also adored; and the last Darius,
 “ before whom so many nations prostrated them-
 “ selves, has our Alexander, though but a mere
 “ mortal, brought to destruction.”

The severity of this remonstrance made Alexander
 himself shrink beneath it. The mention of the chastise-
 ment of the Persian Kings by the Scythians; by
 those very Scythians who had checked the arms; and
 tarnished the glory, of the son of Philip, sunk deep

Alexander's
 conduct on
 that occasion.

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into his mind. He read, at the same time, in the faces of those Macedonians around him, who had not yet bowed their necks to the yoke, the same independent spirit, and the same free principles. He saw the danger of pressing the unmanly proposition. His haughtiness forsook him. He whispered to his creatures to wave the point. They were to confine their endeavours to personal and private solicitation; and he appeared to content himself with the prostration of those alone, who seemed willing to debase the dignity of human nature.

His resentment
against Callist-
henes.

It was, however, evident, that the disappointment mortified Alexander severely. He refused to Callisthenes the kiss, with which it was customary for the King, at the conclusion of the banquet, to honor his guests. "Then," said the philosopher, "I retire
"one kiss the poorer." And one of his principal officers having ventured to ridicule some person, who, in the act of adoration, beat his chin against the ground, by bidding him "strike with more
"fervency," the pleasantry had nearly cost him his life; the King with great difficulty having been prevailed on to forgive him.

Hermolaus
severely treat-
ed by Alex-
ander;

Callisthenes soon felt the effects of the King's resentment. There was a band of youths of the first families of Macedon, whose office it was to attend the King's person, from which corps they were advanced, as they grew up, to some military command. One of these, named Hermolaus, had, in the heat of the chase, struck down a boar just as the King was taking aim at him. Provoked at which, Alexander commanded him to be scourged, and his horse taken

from him. The indignity sunk deep in the mind of the youth; and, having communicated his grief to some of his intimates, he prevailed on them to assist in revenging him on the King.

The conspiracy having been discovered, it was suggested to Alexander³⁰, that Hermolaus and his fellows were admirers of Callisthenes, and often resorted to him. This was enough for Alexander. "His instructions," said he "have taught them to "conspire against me." The philosopher was immediately taken into custody, and, unconvicted, unheard, was sentenced to death. There is reason to believe he was executed privately³¹. The manner in which Hermolaus had behaved at the time of his death, made Alexander cautious of venturing another public execution. Undaunted at his approaching fate, he keenly reproached the King with all his late violences and excesses, which had disgraced him—his condemnation of Philotas, upon presumption of

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conspires
against him.
Callisthenes
accused of
having en-
couraged the
conspiracy,

put to death;
Hermolaus's
boldness at the
time of his
execution.

³⁰ Some writers, among whom Arrian mentions Aristobulus and Ptolemy, say, that Hermolaus and his associates, in the agonies of torture, charged Callisthenes. Others deny this, and impute his condemnation to the resentment Alexander had conceived against him, on account of his freedom of speech.—See Arrian, L. iv. 14.

³¹ This may be collected from the different accounts we have concerning the manner of his death. Plutarch relates it one way; Diogenes Laertius in another; Quintus Curtius in another; Ptolemy, Arrian tells us, pretended he had been put to the rack, and then crucified. Aristobulus said, he had been kept in chains for a considerable time, and at last died a natural death. Consult Arrian in the place last quoted. Consult also Diogenes Laertius in Aristotele.

B O O K 1. guilt, unsupported by proof — his murder of Parmenio—his killing of Clitus—his affection of Persian
Sect. 2. fashions—his arrogant and insulting deportment—his frequent and dissolute banquetings—his contempt of the laws of his country.

Alexander
invades the
Indies.

Alexander saw the expediency of drawing the attention of his subjects away from these gloomy scenes, which but too plainly discovered to their view the fierce despotism he was preparing for them. The occupations and bustle of war were now become a necessary resource. After having therefore provided for the peace of the newly-conquered provinces, by quelling domestic insurrections, and securing their frontiers against the inroads of the neighbouring Scythians, he determined to employ his arms in the reduction of the Indies; an expedition which seemed to promise a large field for adventure and enterprise, and was also well calculated to soothe the vanity of the Greeks. An idle report was propagated, that this country had been visited by Hercules and Bacchus³², and that here many of their achievements had been performed. Alexander took care, at

³² It seems difficult to fix, with any degree of precision, who the Indian Hercules was: it only appears from Arrian (Hist. Ind. 9.) that he was posterior to Bacchus by fifteen generations. Probably he was Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia (Strabo, L. xv. calls him Tearcon.) His invasion of the Assyrian provinces was prior to Alexander's by about 400 years.

The Bacchus of the Indies is supposed to have been Sesostris or Sefac, king of Egypt: his expedition into India was about 650 years before that of Alexander.

See, Sir I. Newton's Chron. of Anc. Kingdoms.

entering upon the present expedition, to encourage this belief. The city of Nyssa, they were told, had been founded by Bacchus himself. In one place was shown to them the identical boundaries that Hercules had set up; and in many parts they met with the descendants of the Greeks who had fought under the banners of these deified heroes.

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Fictions concerning the exploits of Bacchus and Hercules.

It does not appear, however, that Alexander respected much these pretended traces of Grecian lineage. He reduced into subjection every people he visited; sparing none who presumed to oppose him. At Massaga particularly, the chief city of a nation called the Assaceni, he carried his cruelty to an excess, which those historians, who favor him most, find it difficult to palliate. He met here with a vigorous resistance, the city being of some strength, and the sovereign of the country having called in a reinforcement of seven thousand mercenary Indians. At length Alexander compelled him to surrender, the garrison having first stipulated, that they should *march out* in safety. They *marched out* accordingly; when Alexander basely pretended, that his promise extended no farther, and had them afterwards, when at some distance from the city, surrounded and cut to pieces. Arrian ³³ says, they had engaged to enter into his service, and that he was informed they meant to escape back into their own country. Plutarch allows ³⁴ that this transaction has left a lasting stain on the memory of the conqueror.

Alexander's successes.

³³ L. iv. c. 26, 27.

³⁴ In Alexand.

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Takes the
Aornos :

But of all his exploits, that which flattered Alexander's vanity most, was the taking of the Aornos³⁵, a vast rock, near the sources of the Indus. The Greeks had given it this name, on account of its stupendous height, which, together with its situation, and the steepness of its ascent, seemed to render it impregnable. Hercules himself; fiction related, had failed before it. The most warlike of the inhabitants of the country had, besides, stationed themselves here, with every means of defence within the compass of their military science. Alexander, notwithstanding, did what Hercules could not perform. After some attempts of little moment, the Indians, struck with wonder at the execution of the machines which the Macedonians used, and the boldness of their works, abandoned the place³⁶.

Character of
the inhabit-
ants.

The people, against whom all these martial terrors were employed, are nevertheless represented³⁷ to have been strictly just; humane; peaceable; inoffensive; and such religious observers of the rights of mankind, that the name of slavery was unknown among them. They were remarkable for their police; the whole nation being divided into seven *casts*, or distinct professions, which were continued down

³⁵ This word, evidently of Greek extraction, is probably a translation of the Indian name, *beyond the flight of bird*; an exaggerated manner of expression, which from what little we know of their language, seems to have been familiar to them.

³⁶ See Arrian, L. iv. c. 28.

³⁷ Arrian Hist. Ind. c. 10 & seq. See also Strabo, L. xv. p. 484 & seq.

from father to son, no person being permitted to pass, or even to marry into another. Of these, they who were employed in the cultivation of the land, or the tending of flocks, were held in particular honor, and enjoyed a perpetual exemption from military service. Over the several *casts* inspectors were appointed, who reported to the King the conduct of each individual, and who, says Arrian, administered their trust with such unblemished integrity, that no instance had ever been known of their having been guilty of a malicious representation. The modern ¹⁸ traveller sees with admiration, the remains of this order of establishments subsisting at this day among the tribes of Hindostan. But neither from the wisdom of their institutions, nor from the innocence of their manners, could they obtain protection.

That portion of India, which was the scene of Alexander's operations, lay far to the westward of the Ganges, and, according to Arrian, may be divided into three parts; that situated to the west of the Indus; that between the Indus and the Hydaspes; and that between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis. The first of these districts Alexander soon reduced, the natives being unable to make much resistance; the fate of two or three of their cities having intimidated the rest. He then passed the Indus. Taxiles reigned here. He appears to have been a warlike prince, and possessed of an extensive and powerful kingdom; but the fame of Alexander's arms had

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The Indian
chieftains,
from the Indus
to the Hydaspes,
submit to
Alexander.

¹⁸ See L'Abbé Raynal, Hist. Phil. L. i. c. 4.

B O O K I. already subdued him. He submitted himself and his dominions to be disposed of as the conqueror pleased.
Sect. 2. His neighbour, Abissarus; king of the Indians of the mountains, hastened in like manner to avert the destruction that threatened him: and such was the terror which had fallen on the whole land, that there seemed to be an end of all opposition³⁹.

Porus resolves
to oppose
Alexander's
progress.

Alexander
attempts to
pass the Hy-
daspes,

in vain.

Porus, who reigned beyond the Hydaspes, had other thoughts. He assembled his forces, and, regardless of the name and power of his foe, resolved to preserve his independence, or to perish in the attempt. Instead, therefore, of seeing him a tame suppliant, Alexander beheld him guarding the passes of the river, at the head of a formidable army, and directing his operations with all the capacity and spirit of an experienced and undaunted warrior. It was now the summer-folstice, when the several rivers under the equator, swollen by the melting of the mountain-snows, and the heavy rains which fall during that season, especially on the higher grounds, overflow their banks; so that the Hydaspes, from its vast breadth, had rather the appearance of a sea than a river. It was, besides, uncommonly deep and rapid, whilst the narrower and more shallow parts, which cavalry might have attempted to cross, were, on the opposite side, defended by lines of elephants, to which horses have a strong and almost invincible antipathy.

He has recour-
se to artifice.

After many fruitless efforts, Alexander, finding it impossible to gain his point by open force, deter-

³⁹ Arrian. L. v. c. 8.

mined to try whether he could deceive the enemy⁹⁰. Accordingly, for several days he presented himself, as if preparing to pass over; which, as often as it was done, brought Porus to the edge of the water, threatening a vigorous resistance. This manœuvre having been repeated time after time, without any farther attempt, was at length considered by the Indian as a feint, of which the intention was only to harass his troops. Instead, therefore, of following Alexander in all his motions, he contented himself with sending parties up and down the river to reconnoitre. In this situation of things, Alexander set about the execution of his plan.

A few miles higher up, a part of the river ran much narrower, by means of a jutting rock, and the winding of the land; and about the middle of the channel, opposite to the rock, lay a small desert island. This spot Alexander had fixed upon, in hopes, that, if he could get his troops over to the island, he might easily from thence penetrate further. In this view, some large barges, with a number of rafts, and stuffed leathern bags, for the purpose of ferrying over the army, had been privately conveyed at different times to a wood, which skirted that part of the river, and there lay concealed. Having given directions, that the usual appearances should be kept up throughout the camp; that the royal tent, which was within view of the Indians, should have the same parade of guards and attendants, as if he were there in person; and that, as soon as night came on,

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His plan.

⁹⁰ Arrian, L. v. c. 10. Plut. in Alexand.

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they should keep the enemy in continual alarm, by lighting fires in different places, by frequent shoutings, and the tumult and trampling of men and horses, as if the army was preparing to cross over; Alexander, towards the decline of day, filed off for the appointed rendezvous, at the head of a considerable body of troops, by a road leading from the back part of the camp, not within observation of the enemy's scouting-parties. Fortunately, by the time he got to that part of the bank from whence the attempt was to be made, the night became exceedingly tempestuous, so that, though the river happened to be much deeper, and the passage far more difficult, than he expected, yet the darkness of the night, and the violence of the storm, concealed him so effectually from the enemy, that, before they were apprized of his purpose, he had already reached the island.

From this island, he had imagined the passage to the opposite shore admitted of no difficulty. He now found there was another island to be crossed, and beyond it a considerable gut, in which the swell was so high from the late fall of rain, that the horses were up to their necks. By this time too it was day-light; and the weather having cleared up, he perceived that the enemy had full view of him, and were hastening from every part to oppose his landing.

He passes the
Hydaspes:

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, Alexander passed on, and was already on firm ground, when the first detachment of Porus's troops came up with him; whom he instantly charged and cut to pieces.

Upon receiving notice of the Macedonians passing the river, Porus, who thought it was only a small detachment of little consequence, had dispatched against them his son with a party of horse and some armed chariots; but a second account informing him, that this party was defeated, his son slain, and the enemy led on by Alexander himself, he immediately formed his army in order of battle, and advanced to meet him.

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defeats a party of Indians.

The intrepid manner ⁴¹ of the Indian chieftain, and the skillful disposition he had made, showed Alexander that he had not a common enemy to contend with. Porus's cavalry, flanked by a number of armed chariots, formed the wings of his army. His infantry, in number about thirty thousand, composed his main body, in the front of which he had placed his elephants, at such distances, that it was not possible for Alexander's cavalry to make impression on this line, the very sight and smell of these animals deterring the horses from approaching; whilst the foot, had they attempted to break in upon this disposition, were not only in imminent danger of being trampled down by these tremendous creatures, but were exposed to the deadly aim of numbers of Indian marksmen ⁴².

Porus marches against him.

Alexander perceived at once what was proper to be done. His main body he commanded to halt at some distance from the main body of the enemy; and, having detached Coenus to attack the right wing,

Alexander attacks and defeats him!

⁴¹ Arrian, L. v. c. 15 & seq.

⁴² OLYMP. cxiii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 327.

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with directions to wheel round as soon as possible, and fall on the enemy's rear, he at the same time, in person, charged their left wing. This unexpected operation threw the Indians into confusion. Attacked both in front and rear, their cavalry, in which they were weakest, were soon dispersed; and Alexander, having thus laid open the flank of their main body, pushed on, whilst the Macedonian phalanx, who had now orders to advance, took advantage of the enemy's broken condition, and, getting between the elephants, inclosed them, and either disabled, or drove them back upon the Indian troops.

But what completed the ruin of the Indian army, was a movement of Craterus, who commanded in the Macedonian camp. As soon as he saw the battle incline in favor of Alexander, he instantly crossed the Hydaspes, pursuant to instructions left with him, and pouring in his fresh troops on this fatigued and dispirited enemy, made dreadful havock, and fixed decisively the fortune of the day.

Porus's spirit;

Porus, amidst this general discomfiture, still preserved an unconquered mind; and though wounded, and left almost alone, refused to quit the field of battle. Alexander, who saw his danger, and admired his valor, wished to save him, and sent Taxiles to persuade him to surrender. "Base betrayer of thy country!" said Porus to him, as soon as he approached; and would instantly have slain him, had he not saved himself by flight. Meroes, an Indian, who was on terms of friendship with Porus, was then sent, who, having represented how ineffectual any farther opposition was, with the

prevailed on
to surrender
to Alexander.

gracious treatment he might be assured of, he at length prevailed on him to approach Alexander. The conqueror beheld the vanquished Prince with admiration. Porus had, as historians tell us, an uncommon dignity in his appearance; his stature was much above the usual size, and his eye betrayed nothing of his present fortune. "How do you require I should treat you?" said Alexander to him. "As a King," answered the other. "As a King, I shall, doubtless," replied Alexander; "the regard I owe to myself demands it of me. But have you nothing to ask on your own private account?" — "To be treated as a King," said the royal prisoner, "implies every thing." Moved by this greatness of spirit, Alexander restored him to his kingdom, and endeavoured to make compensation for what he had suffered, if any thing could make this Prince amends for the unprovoked slaughter of his people, and the death of his two sons, the second having fallen in the last action. Alexander, however, found Porus ever afterwards to remain one of his most faithful allies.

Other wars succeeded. There were several princes in the country, who had not yet submitted; and this was a crime which Alexander could not forgive. What Arrian relates⁴², seems indeed to exceed all belief; that in this part of India, between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis, he subdued seven different nations, and took two thousand cities; of these, thirty-seven belonged to the Glausae alone⁴³, not one of which,

The devastations committed by Alexander, from the Hydaspes to the Hyphasis.

⁴² L. vi. c. 2.

⁴³ L. v. c. 20.

B O O K I. says Arrian, had fewer than five thousand inhabitants, and many above ten thousand; besides a number of villages, peopled in proportion. Some were still more populous; seventeen thousand being slain, and seventy thousand made prisoners, at the sacking of Sangala^{**}, which he laid in ruins, because the inhabitants had the insolence to make a vigorous defence. Allowing even these numbers to be greatly exaggerated, we may nevertheless conclude, that this country must then have been exceedingly populous^{**}, and in a very high state of cultivation.

Proposes to
pass on to the
Ganges.

When the Macedonian found there was nothing more for him to subdue on this side the Hyphasis, he proposed to pass on to the Ganges. There, he was told, he should meet with several rich and mighty kingdoms, whose inhabitants were famed for their skill in husbandry, their valor, and their wisdom, and who were possessed of elephants larger than any he had yet beheld. These were powerful incitements for him to make trial of their strength; as if it had been his glory to deface whatever was fair and lovely among men, and, to the decencies and blessings of social life, to substitute horror and devastation.

His soldiers
refuse to pro-
ceed.

But his soldiers refused to proceed. Worn out with toil, to which they saw no end, and, perhaps, not insensible to the miseries, of which they had so often been the instruments, they demanded, that he

^{**} Arrian, L. v. c. 24.

^{**} After the reduction of Indostan by the Tartars, the population of the country amounted, according to Raynal (L. iv. c. 11.) to a hundred millions of Indians, and ten millions of Tartars.

should now think of returning. Alexander expostulated with them. He laid before them the glorious plan he had formed; the execution of which, he told them, was to give them possession of boundless treasure, and would render their names illustrious to latest times — he proposed “to pursue his conquests to the Ganges; and from thence to make his way to the eastern ocean — thence they were to have the opportunity of passing from sea to sea, and of visiting many unknown lands, one great ocean, he told them, encompassing the whole earth — that afterwards, sailing along the whole coast of Africa, they should return by Hercules’s pillars, thus completing the conquest of all the Asiatic and African nations — and that whatever should then appear to be the boundaries of the world, those he would establish for the boundaries of his empire “. ”

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His plan of
conquering
all the na-
tions of the
earth.

Had this visionary project been handed down to us upon the authority of Curtius, we should be apt to consider it as one of those romantic embellishments, which this author has interwoven in many parts of his history; but we have it upon the word of the sober Arrian, who wrote from authentic memoirs of respectable witnesses; to whose charge, if any thing can be laid, it is, that they have sought rather to extenuate the excesses and follies of this firm but vain-glorious Prince.

From this account, it is easy to perceive, that Alexander had a view also to Rome. Arrian⁴⁷, in

⁴⁶ Arrian, L. v. c. 25, 26.

⁴⁷ L. vii. c. 1.

B O O K another place, confesses, it was generally believed
I that he had. Other writers are more explicit. They
Sect. 2. tell us expressly, that he declared his intentions of
 carrying his arms into Italy, as soon as he had made
 an end of conquering the other nations of the earth.

He employs
 solicitations
 to prevail on
 his army to
 accompany
 him ;

but without
 effect.

In order to gain over his soldiers, he made use of every argument that unsatisfied ambition could suggest; he descended to solicitations; he chose rather, he told them, to entreat than to command; he conjured them to remember, in what manner he had lived among them, in what estimation he held their achievements, how bountifully he had rewarded their valor and fidelity. But his men were not to be moved. When he had done speaking, a fullen silence ensued; the whole army expressing by their looks the strongest marks of disapprobation, though fearful of exciting his wrath by an avowed opposition.

At length Coenus, an officer of the first rank, whom years and services rendered respectable, ventured to reply⁴⁸:

Coenus's re-
 monstrance.

“ Since, O King, you are pleased to declare,
 “ that you mean not to command but to persuade,
 “ and that you yourself are ready to comply with the
 “ wishes of your army, if it shall appear there is
 “ conviction in the arguments which they have to
 “ offer, I rise to speak, not in behalf of us your
 “ principal officers, who, distinguished by your
 “ favor, see ourselves promoted to the first military
 “ honors; for, whithersoever your order shall call

⁴⁸ Arrian, L. v. c. 27.

us, we are ready to obey; I rise to speak in behalf
only of these your faithful soldiers.

Neither in behalf even of them, would I presume
to speak, were it merely *their* interest I had in
view. A much higher regard urges me; a regard
to your royal person; a regard to the conservation
of your sacred life.

On many accounts I think myself called upon
to stand forth on this important occasion: these
grey hairs of mine; the honors you have graced
me with; the life I have lived, amidst toils and
dangers; seem all to require of me, that I should,
on this day, honestly speak what I think it is
expedient for you to hear.

The greater our dangers and fatigues have
been, the more numerous and illustrious the ex-
ploits achieved by you and the troops under your
command, the stronger reason there is to beseech
you to put an end to our labors, and to rest con-
tented with that large portion of glory you have
acquired.

Cast your eyes around. Of all the Greeks and
Macedonians that accompanied you from Europe,
see, how few of us remain! The Thessalians,
worn out in the service, you have already
dismissed. Numbers of the other Greeks have
perished by the sword and by disease, in the course
of the many wars you have been engaged in. The
greater number of those who survive, you have
been under the necessity of leaving behind in
different parts of Asia, disabled by wounds, or
weakened by infirmity, cut off from the hopes of

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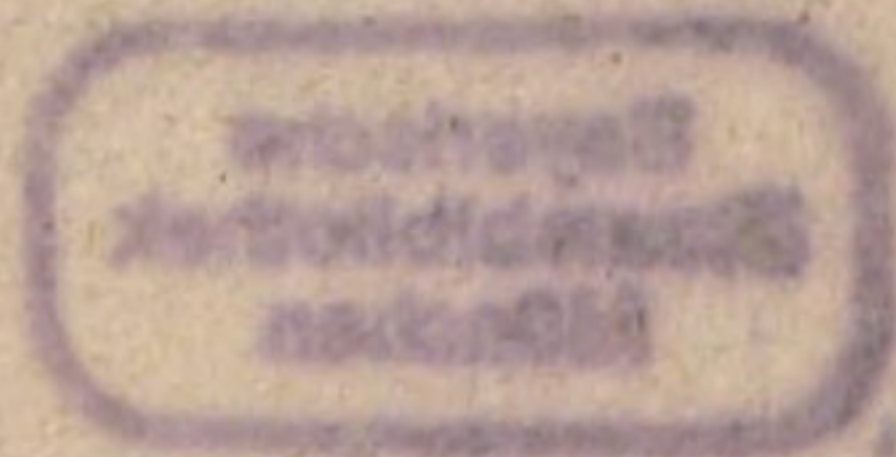
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“ ever beholding Greece more: and even the few
“ who yet remain with you, and still retain some
“ appearance of vigor, have neither that firmness
“ of body, nor that strength of mind, which they
“ had at the beginning. They languish for their
“ native home, looking wishfully for the day that
“ shall again restore them to their parents, their
“ wives, and their children.

“ Wonder not, O King, that this desire should
“ work strongly within them. You yourself have
“ given it strength. You have enriched them with
“ wealth; you have graced them with honors: they
“ long to show to their nearest connexions, those
“ ornaments which they have received from you. —
“ Compel not, therefore, men to follow you, who
“ can no longer have the same affection for the
“ service they once had; whose bodies are averse
“ from toil, and whose minds are sunk into
“ dejection.

“ Think also, that you have a parent in Greece,
“ who anxiously waits your return, and a kingdom
“ that demands your attention. Full of glory, and
“ laden with the spoils of Asia, you will have the
“ joy of making a people happy, and a mother
“ blest.

“ And should you hereafter be disposed to go again
“ to war, either against the Indians, or against
“ Carthage and the Lybian nations, you will have
“ soldiers from every part of Macedon crowding to
“ your standard; not men such as these, bent by
“ years, and subdued by labor; but soldiers fresh
“ and vigorous, who will think lightly of toils



“ they are not acquainted with, and will chearfully
 “ encounter the sharpest dangers, in expectation
 “ of such rewards as these your old soldiers now
 “ possess.

“ Moderation, amidst the allurements of prof-
 “ perity, is man’s highest glory. This glory, O
 “ King, be thine. Success has hitherto attended
 “ your arms; you cannot be assured that it shall
 “ always attend them; for, though with such an
 “ army, led by such a King, we bid defiance to the
 “ power of enemies, yet fortune may change on a
 “ sudden, and blast our fairest hopes.”

We are indebted to Arrian for this interesting speech. Though the texture of it is evidently the work of the historian, it is nevertheless exceedingly valuable, as it may be supposed to be a just representation, both of the manner of thinking of Alexander’s army, and of the many miseries, which his boasted conquests had brought even upon his own subjects; the strength of Greece being wasted in a foreign land, whilst the domestic weal was abandoned to the rage of struggling factions!

As soon as Coenus had ended, a murmur of The impres-
 applause ran through the whole assembly. And, what sion Coenus’s
 was most affecting, the tender sentiments, with speech made
 which their hearts were impressed, being all awakened on the army.
 by this pathetic oration, most of these gallant warriors
 appeared bathed in tears.”

Alexander, nevertheless, remained unmoved, Alexander’s
 and flung from the assembly, with marks of strong resentment,
 resentment. and reproach-
 es.

“ Arrian, L. v. c. 28.

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Next day he convened them again. "I shall go on," said he to them; "but I shall not desire a Macedonian to follow me. There are *men* who will not desert their King. Return home when you please; and inform your countrymen, that you have left Alexander in the midst of hostile nations."

Retiring then to his tent, he remained shut up until the third day, not even his friends being allowed admittance.

He expected, that the love, which he knew his army bore to him, and the dread of his displeasure, would make them desist from their purpose.

Attempts to
work on their
superstitions;

fails;

seems to yield
to the wishes
of his army.

No symptom of this appearing, he endeavoured to interest their superstition. Sacrifices were appointed, and the entrails of victims consulted; but the priests deserted him on this occasion. Thus beset with difficulties, he at length acquiesced; and, to the great joy of his army, gave directions that they should prepare to return⁵⁰.

His vanity,

and folly.

His vanity, however, still displayed itself. He contrived to have arms much larger than his men could wield, and higher mangers and heavier bits than his horses required, left buried in the earth, or scattered throughout the territory that had set bounds to his conquests. He caused also twelve altars of an amazing size to be raised on the eastern side of the Hyphasis, and a camp to be laid out upon a much larger scale than usual. All this, to induce afterages to believe, that himself and his men had the might and stature of giants. And on these altars, if we are

⁵⁰ Arrian, ubi sup.

to believe Philostratus, were left inscriptions suitable to the folly and arrogance of the builder: — “to father Hammon” — “to brother Hercules” — to brother Apollo⁵¹. B O O K I. Sect. 2.

We are almost tempted to question the veracity of ancient historians, when they recite excesses of such palpable absurdity⁵².

⁵¹ Philost. de vitâ Apoll. Tyan. L. ii. c. 15.

⁵² About this time died Coenus, much lamented by the whole army, to whom he was justly dear, and even mourned by Alexander himself, who could not but honor* the probity and noble spirit of this generous foldier.

* Quintus Curtius puts, nevertheless, a silly jest in Alexander's mouth on the occasion.

See Quint. Cur. L. ix. c. 3.

· B O O K I.

S E C T I O N III.

C O N T E N T S.

Alexander visits the Indian ocean — Returns by the inhospitable tract of Gadosia — The loss he sustains — Iniquitous conduct and punishment of the governors he had appointed — His army mutinies — He reduces them to obedience — Hephaestion dies — Alexander's excesses on that occasion — Returns to Babylon — Is distressed by ill-boding omens — Has recourse to intemperance — Dies — His character — The judgment to be formed of his achievements ; and the benefits of which they have been productive.

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Alexander, in his way homeward, prepares to visit the Indian ocean.

IT might well be supposed, that Alexander's busy and lofty spirit would not long remain easy under restraints, to which nothing but the necessity of his affairs had made him submit. His restless ambition began^{*} immediately to seek for new objects. And new objects soon opened to his view. The part of India he had traversed is intersected by five great navigable rivers, which, he was told, after taking their course through many nations, not less rich and populous than those he had visited, discharged themselves into a vast ocean abounding with prodigies. Every circumstance made him eager to attempt the

^{*} Arrian, L. vi. c. 1 & seq. Plutarch in Alexand. Quint. Cur. L. ix, c. 3. Diod. Sic. L. xvii, c. 10.

enterprife. The Greeks alfo, naturally curious, and who were affured they might return by this route into Perfia, were not averfe from an expedition, which, befides other advantages, feemed to bring them on their way towards their native country.

A Fleet was accordingly fitted out, and the command of it given to Nearchus, with directions to fall down the Hydaspes, whilst the army moved along its banks; Alexander himfelf embarking with a party of cavalry and a confiderable body of cuiraffiers. They had continued their navigation for fome days, when an accident, of which he had been apprized by the natives of the country, had nearly put an end to his whole project. The rivers of this part of India fall the one into the other², and at every confluence

Falls down the
Hydaspes.

² We have, from the accurate Arrian (vi. 14.) an exact account of thefe feveral confluences. The five rivers of this part of India are the Indus, the Hydaspes, the Acesines, the Hydraotes, and the Hyphasis. Upon the confluence of the Hydaspis and Acesines, the name of the former is loft, and the river takes that of Acesines; it is afterwards joined by the Hydraotes, and then by the Hyphasis, ftill retaining the name of Acesines, and at laft falls into the Indus; under which name all thefe waters conjoined empty themfelves into the fea. According to Ctefias (See Arrian, v. 3, 4.) the Indus is in one part upwards of twelve miles (a hundred furlongs) in breadth, and upwards of five miles (forty furlongs) where narroweft; and yet is far inferior to the Ganges. According to Oneficritus, who was commander of the fhip in which Alexander was, Strabo tells us (xv. p. 482.) that the Indus is in one part two hundred furlongs, about twenty-five miles, in breadth. Befides the rivers above-mentioned, eleven more, making fifteen in all, fall into the Indus. See Arrian, v. 6.

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Dangers of this
navigation.

the meeting of the waters causes a ferment, which few vessels are able to resist. When, therefore, the Macedonian fleet reached the confluence of the Acesines and Hydaspes, several vessels found themselves caught abruptly by whirling eddies; some were overset, and most of them shattered. At length, after sustaining considerable loss, they got clear by dint of their oars.

Attacks the
Malli.

Hitherto they had seen only a few scattered Indians, who abandoned their habitations at the first approach of an enemy. The Macedonians now began to enter a district inhabited by a people, who appeared to have more civilized manners, and to be well acquainted with the cultivation of land. These were named the Malli. Alexander immediately landed, and prepared to march against them, forming his army into three divisions, that the natives, who eluded the one, might be intercepted by the other. The Malli were a harmless people, of great simplicity of life, who had never heard of Alexander or his exploits; who had not even been subjected to the Persian yoke, to whose name probably they were strangers; and who, since the days of Bacchus, according to their tradition, had lived in the peaceable enjoyment of their liberties, conformably to their own laws. Conquerors pay little regard to circumstances like these. The son of Olympias still went on, ravaging the country, and sacking every fortified place that did not open its gates to him. One city still remained unsubdued, which had the advantage of some kind of fortrefs; and here a great part of the Malli had taken refuge. Thither Alexander marched

his forces; and, finding a more vigorous resistance than his impetuous spirit could brook, he commanded ladders to be applied, and the walls to be scaled, mounting himself the foremost. The ladders being too slender to sustain the weight of the numbers who crowded after the King, broke down just as Alexander and three of his guards had reached the top of the battlements. Here they stood alone, in a critical situation, unable to execute any thing effectual, and exposed to all the weapons of the besieged. The danger in which Alexander found himself, made him bolder and more resolute; and, without losing a moment in deliberation, he undauntedly leaped from the battlements into the city; his three attendants, to whom the King's rash deed left no choice, following him. They lighted on their feet; but this availed them little. They were at once surrounded by crowds of combatants; and though they struck down as many as durst approach them, a fresh supply of enemies still pressed on; and stones, and darts, and javelins, poured in upon them from every side. Abreas, one of Alexander's men, was already slain, and the two others, Peucestas and Leonnatus, dangerously wounded, when the King received a javelin in his breast; which brought him almost lifeless to the ground; his two companions, though nearly disabled by their own wounds, covered him with their shields and bodies. The report of Alexander's danger having run through the army, the soldiers, frantic at the thoughts of losing their Prince, burst into the city at different places; some scrambling up the walls, others beating down

Is in danger of
losing his life.

B O O K the gates ; when, putting to the sword all they met,
I. without distinction of age or sex, they made their
Sect. 3. way to the spot where the King lay. Their first
care was to remove him to his tent, and to cut out
the head of the javelin, which, being bearded,
required a large incision to be made. The plentiful
effusion of blood occasioned by the operation, threw
Alexander into a swoon, and for some minutes it
was doubtful whether he had not expired ; but he
soon revived, and from the natural strength of his
constitution, and the care taken of him, he was in
a short time re-established, and enabled to show him-
self again to his army, who would scarcely believe
their Prince was alive, till they were permitted to
approach his person. All that remained of the Malli,
as if to atone for the share they had in the accident,
submitted ; and their example was followed by the
Oxydracae, another nation not far distant³.

The Malli
submit,

and the Oxy-
dracae.
Alexander
spread devas-
tation through
this part of
India ;

Alexander's inclination for war and conquest was
not in the least impaired by his recent unfortunate
adventure ; he still continued his military operations,
marking out for destruction every people that dared
to resist the power of his arms. What devastation
this must have produced, among nations such as we
have described, fond of freedom, and unacquainted
with the Macedonian method of waging war, it is
easy to judge. Besides a number of large districts
totally depopulated by the flight of the inhabitants to
the neighbouring deserts, not less than seven great

³ Most of the ancient historians suppose this adventure to
have happened in the city of the Oxydracae. It appears from
Arrian (vi. 11.) that they are mistaken.

nations* were forced to accept whatever terms the conqueror thought proper to impose. And Musicanus, one of their kings, who is said to have been the most considerable of the princes of the country, having endeavoured to throw off the yoke, was pursued by his foe, taken, and crucified alive', in the midst of his own territories, together with several of the Brachmans', or Indian sages, who, in their

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crucifies an
Indian king,
and his faith-
ful Brach-
mans;

* Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, tells us, that this country, which he now subdued, was three times as large as what he had subdued before between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis.

' Arrian, L. vi, c. 15, 16.

* These Brachmans or Bramins appear to have been a very different order of men from what modern writers represent them. "Tels," says Abbé Raynal, (L. i. c. 4.) "son les
" descendants des anciens Brachmanes, dont l'antiquité ne
" parle qu'avec admiration, parceque l'affectation de l'austérité
" & du mystère, & le privilège de parler aux rois du ciel,
" en impose au vulgaire dans tous les siècles. C'étoit à eux
" que les Grecs attribuoient le dogme de l'immortalité de
" l'ame, les idées sur la nature du grand être, sur les peines
" & les recompenses futures — On regardoit les Brachmanes
" comme les amis des dieux; parcequ'ils paroissoient s'en
" occuper beaucoup, & comme les protecteurs des hommes,
" parcequ'ils ne s'en occupoient point du tout." Both Strabo and Arrian speak of them in another manner. Their chief employment was *the public good*; to observe the seasons, and to communicate their observations to the people; and, on all occasions of important and national concern, to deliver their advice with fidelity. The Brachman, who had thrice been guilty of giving counsel that had not proved salutary, was condemned to silence for life. Their discipline, besides, was exceedingly severe; and their tenets concerning the Creator and Governor of the universe, the immortality of the

B O O K I. zeal for their ancient liberties, had encouraged him to revolt.

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enters the
Indus;

The fleet had now entered the Indus, which, says Arrian, after receiving the waters of all the other rivers of this part of India, empties itself by two great channels into the Indian ocean. The mariners soon discovered, by the swell of the river, that the sea

foul, and a future state, were not unworthy of the Grecian school. Their reproof of Alexander is memorable. A number of them were assembled in a field as he passed; and at sight of him began to stamp on the ground with great vehemence. He sent to know the reason. "To every man," they answered, "is such a portion of earth allotted, as we are measuring out with our feet. Thou, O King, shalt have no more; and yet, led on by an idle curiosity, and regardless of justice, art thou traversing from country to country, without allowing rest either to thyself or to thy fellow-creatures." He would have prevailed on Dandamis, the principal of the Indian sages, to come to him, bidding his messengers tell him, that he was the son of Jupiter, and had it in his power to reward or to punish him. "I am," replied the sage, "the son of Jupiter as well as he; as to his rewards, he has none to give; for he has not enough to satisfy himself; and as for his punishments, the utmost he can do, is, to relieve me from a body worn out with age, and to remove me to a state of perfect happiness." However, Calanus, another Brachman, was persuaded to attend Alexander, and for some time accompanied him; but being seized by an acute disorder, he raised a pile of wood, and burnt himself on it. It appears, nevertheless, that the Indian Brachmans condemned Calanus, both for departing from that simplicity of manners he had been accustomed to, in order to partake of the luxuries of the royal table; and for putting an end to a life over which he had no dominion.

See Strabo, L. xv. p. 490 & seq. & Arrian, L. vii. c. 1, 2. & Hist. Ind. xi.

was not far distant, and gave notice to the King, that they already perceived the breezes of the ocean. Alexander, rejoiced to find that he should shortly behold the object of his wishes, encouraged his seamen to use their oars with redoubled efforts. As they were endeavouring to execute these orders, they found themselves involved in a new distress, which their ignorance rendered exceedingly alarming. Accustomed to the gentle ebb and flow of the Mediterranean, they had no notion of the strong ocean-tides. Accordingly, when they saw the current bear against them, and the waters to rise on every side, and overspread the banks, they imagined it was an indication of the anger of the gods, and that they were guilty of impiety, in thus attempting to pry into the secrets of nature. This, however, was little to the consternation that followed. The sea, at the turn of the tide, retreating, their vessels were left either aground, or stuck fast in the mud, the keels and oars of many of them much damaged, and the shores covered with arms and baggage; so that the whole had the appearance of a wreck, and they began to despair of being ever able to get off. The return of the tide relieved them from their anxiety, and taught them what they were until this time strangers to.

Alexander ordered himself to be rowed into this vast ocean, for the purpose of making new discoveries; and, after doing little more than gratifying an unbounded curiosity, prepared to march his army back into Persia, whilst Nearchus was to continue his navigation along the coasts of the Persian gulph,

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reaches the
ocean ;is surprised at
the ocean-
tides ;sends Near-
chus to make
observations ;

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prepares to
return;
his prayer;enters Ga-
drofia;the difficul-
ties he meets
with.

and afterwards up the Euphrates, by which he was directed to return. It is supposed, that Alexander spent ten months⁷, from the time of his embarking on the Hydaspes, in this fruitless expedition. He closed his progress on this side with a prayer well worthy of remembrance. It marks strongly the extravagant spirit of this adventurous and ambitious Prince. He besought the gods, "that no man might pass beyond the limits that he had reached".

The route, which he chose for the return of his army, was of all others the most difficult. It lay mostly through burning sands, in many parts of which no water was to be found, no supply of food to be obtained, nor the track of traveller to be seen. The army soon experienced all the miseries to be met with in such a dreary march. Numbers of his men were either overwhelmed in the hot sands, or perished from fatigue or hunger, or both. Their carriages became no longer of use, the roads in several places not admitting them; their cattle perished, or were killed for food; so that the immense treasure the army had collected together, at the price of so much blood, was now thrown away by the soldiers, as a painful incumbrance. This inhospitable tract was called Gatrofia. One might be at a loss to conjecture what could prompt Alexander to such a route, when a much better lay before him. Arrian accounts for it. According to the tradition of Indians, Semiramis

⁷ Plutarch says seven only. Abp. Usher shows he is mistaken. See Usher. Annal. 371.

⁸ Plutarch in Alexand.

and Cyrus had passed this way; and whatever any great person had performed, the son of Philip was determined not to be exceeded in. Semiramis, as tradition bore, lost her whole army in this desert, twenty men excepted; and Cyrus had escaped with seven only. Alexander therefore had an advantage over them: the march cost *him* but two months, and only three fourths of his army. From Plutarch it appears, that above one hundred thousand of his men perished in this ' wild expedition.

In the course of it, however, there happened an incident, which Arrian¹⁰ relates, much to Alexander's praise. Some soldiers had gone in quest of water; and, having discovered a little brook, with difficulty procured a small quantity of the element, and brought it to the King: though oppressed with thirst, he refused to accept a relief, which he could not share among his army; and, with much commendation of the zeal of those who brought it, generously poured it on the ground. Every man found it less difficult to sustain hardships, when he saw the King endure them equally with the meanest soldier. A like story is related by Plutarch, which, possibly from mistake, he ascribes to another person.

The Macedonians at length entered the plentiful country of Carmania, where they were supplied in abundance with provisions of every kind; orders

⁹ He entered this part of India with a hundred and twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse, and did not bring back above one fourth part of them. Plutarch in Alexand.

¹⁰ L. vii. c. 26.

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Alexander's
generous
conduct;

he enters
Carmania.

B O O K having been previously dispatched to the neighbouring governors, to furnish all manner of refreshments, together with carriages and beasts of burden to replace those that had been lost. Here Alexander spent some days in celebrating public sports, and offering sacrifices of thanksgiving for the signal deliverance vouchsafed to him and his army. It is, probably, this solemnity of which some ancient writers have given us so romantic a description. They would have us believe, that Alexander caused his soldiers to celebrate a feast to Bacchus for seven days, in memory of their Prince having, like the god, returned victorious from the Indies; and his whole army, in imitation of the Bacchanals, exhibited a frantic procession through the nations lately conquered, with shouts of uproar and riot, and all the ridiculous gambols of which the greatest intoxication can be productive; the King in person leading the dissolute dance. Had one thousand sober men, says Curtius²¹; attacked this wild multitude, the defeat of the latter had been inevitable. But from Arrian²² it appears, that this account, though supported by no less an authority than that of Diodorus and Plutarch, is merely an idle fiction. An instructive lesson, how cautious we ought to be in admitting what many ancient writers have recorded.

Fabulous account of the feast celebrated here by him.

Confused state of the conquered provinces,

Alexander, no doubt, like all founders of a new empire, had pleased himself with the fond idea, that this vast fabric of power, which he was laboring to

²¹ See Quint. Cur. L. ix. c. 10.

²² See Arrian, L. vi. c. 28.

establish,

establiſh, would laſt for ages. He now had the full eſt B O O K
evidence of the vanity of his hopes. It was but the I.
eleventh year of his reign, and the fifth ſince the Sect. 3.
overthrow of Darius; and repeated accounts were
brought to him from every quarter, of the confuſion
which had already ariſen in many of his provinces ¹³;
in ſome, from the unſubdued ſpirit of the people ¹⁴; and from
in moſt of them, from the oppreſſive and tyrannical what cauſes.
exceſſes of the governors whom he had appointed
over them. Theſe, it ſeems, expected not that
Alexander was ever to return from the Indies; and
therefore treated with contempt eſtabliſhments
which he could no longer enforce. Alexander
behaved on this occaſion with becoming firmneſs
and reſentment. He inquired into the ſeveral com-
plaints; and, where guilt was found, puniſhed the
delinquents with the utmoſt ſeverity. Proofs were
exhibited, of groſs dilapidations and acts of violence He puniſhes
having been committed by Clitander, Sitalcas, and the iniquitous
Heracon, who commanded in Media: they were all governors.
put to death ¹⁵. They had aſſiſted in the murder of
Parmenio; on which account, hiſtorians tell us,
the whole army, even many of the King's neareſt
friends, witneſſed their execution with pleaſure ¹⁶.
“ Vengeance for that innocent blood,” ſaid they,
“ has juſtly overtaken them.” Abulites, and his

¹³ Plutarch in Alexand.

¹⁴ Philip, whom he had appointed governor of Indoeſtan,
had been ſlain by his own guards. See Arrian, v. 27.

¹⁵ Arrian, ubi ſup.

¹⁶ See Quint. Cur. x. 1.

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Harpalus
plunders the
treasures at
Babylon.

son Oxathres ¹⁷, to whom the care of Susa was intrusted, had proved unfaithful: they both suffered in like manner. Orxines ¹⁸ had plundered the province of Persia, of which he held the government, not sparing even the temples, and putting to death all persons, however innocent, who happened to be obnoxious to him: he was crucified. Even the tomb of Cyrus, which was filled with various treasures of inestimable value, and in which the body of that conqueror lay inclosed in a case of gold, had not escaped the rapacious hand of violence. After much inquiry, it was discovered, that the plunderer was Polymachus ¹⁹, a Macedonian of distinction, born in Pella, Alexander's native city: regardless of his quality, the King ordered his execution. In this list of criminals, one of the most remarkable was Harpalus. Alexander, to whom he was particularly dear ²⁰, on account of his attachment to him whilst Philip was living, had appointed him guardian of the treasures in Babylon. This important trust was a temptation which he was not capable of resisting. He abandoned himself to a shameful dissoluteness, and squandered away a considerable portion of the wealth committed to his care. Accordingly, when,

¹⁷ Arrian, L. vii. c. 4. Plutarch calls him Oxyartes. According to this historian, Alexander was so enraged against him, that he stabbed him with his own hand. See Plutarch in Alexand.

¹⁸ Arrian, L. vi. c. 30. Quint. Cur. (x. 1.) gives a very different turn to this story. We follow Arrian.

¹⁹ Plut. in Alexand.

²⁰ See Arrian, L. iii. c. 6.

contrary to his expectations, he found that Alexander was on his return to Babylon, he collected together a band of mercenaries, and, taking five thousand talents with him, fled into Greece. The fate, which he justly deserved, soon afterwards overtook him. He was killed in Crete, by some persons in whom he confided ²¹.

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and flees to Greece.

His death.

After visiting the adjacent provinces, and applying what remedies seemed most expedient in their present turbulent state, Alexander directed his march to Susa, where, upon his arrival, he married Statira, daughter of Darius. Arrian ²² calls her Barsine, or, according to some readings, Arsinoe. Her sister, Parysatis, by some named Drypetis, he gave to Hephæstion; and at the same time disposed of eighty of the principal Persian ladies in marriage to his chief officers, on all of whom he bestowed rich dowries, suitable to their noble birth. In addition to the public joy, Nearchus, who had the command of the naval expedition, and of whose safety Alexander had despaired, returned to Susa, with an account of the success of his voyage, and of the discoveries he had made; which, in the present infant state of navigation among the Greeks, were highly celebrated.

Alexander weds the daughter of Darius;

gives the principal Persian ladies in marriage to his officers.

Nearchus returns.

That his whole army might share in the general happiness ²³, he presented every Grecian soldier, who had married Asiatic women (and these

Alexander's liberality to his army.

²¹ Plutarch in Alexand. & Demosthene. Athenaei Deipnosph. L. xiii. p. 594.

²² See Arrian, L. 5. vii. c. 4.

²³ Plut. in Alexand. Arrian, L. vii. c. 5.

B O O K amounted to ten thousand in number) with considerable sums of money. The debts likewise of his
I. army he declared he would discharge, and desired
Sect. 3. to have a state of them laid before him. But, finding many of his men were unwilling to discover minutely how their debts had been contracted, he demanded only the names of their respective creditors, and the several sums at large; and in this manner discharged the whole, though the sum amounted to twenty thousand talents. Those, besides, who had distinguished themselves by any particular military exploit, he honored with rich donatives, such as crowns of gold, and other rewards of great value.

What he had
in view.

Alexander's generosity appears here to advantage; he had, besides, in view to smooth national prejudices, which kept the haughty Greeks at a distance from the Asiatics; and, as the Macedonians and Persians were now governed by one common sovereign, to make them by degrees coalesce into one people: but he soon found this was not so easily to be accomplished.

His plan for
the recruiting
of his army;

He had given directions²⁴ to the several governors to train to military exercise a number of youths in their respective provinces, and to have them disciplined after the Macedonian manner, in order that he might always have a supply of foldiers in readiness, whenever casualties or years should render his own men unfit for service. Thirty thousand of these recruits having accordingly been brought to Susa, he issued orders, that the same number of Macedo-

²⁴ Arrian, L. vii. c. 6 & seq. Plutarch in Alexand.

nians, who were become less able to endure the
 fatigues of war, should have permission to return
 home. It had been easy to have given a favorable
 interpretation to this measure; but to the Greeks,
 who were already exasperated at seeing the Asiatics
 possess so large a portion of the royal favor, it
 appeared in the most odious light; and a general
 mutiny immediately ensued. "Their former services,"
 they said, "were no longer remembered — no
 "account taken of the dangers they had encountered,
 "and the toils they had undergone — the objects of
 "Alexander's regard were now the effeminate Per-
 "sians — he imitated their dress; he spoke their
 "language; he adopted their manners — their
 "soldiers were now to be inrolled among the
 "Macedonian veterans, and to carry away those
 "honors, which the latter had purchased at the
 "price of their blood — let us all be discharged
 "together — we scorn to serve under the banners of
 "a prince, who is now an alien to his country —
 "and, should he have any more wars to carry on,
 "let them be carried on by his father Hammon and
 "himself."

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mutiny occa-
 sioned by it:

Alexander could contain himself no longer: for,
 it seems, these bold remonstrances were made in his
 presence. Starting from his tribunal, with his own
 hands he seized thirteen of the most guilty mutineers,
 whom he ordered to instant execution. Then,
 taking advantage of the consternation into which
 this act of vigor had thrown his army, in the most
 spirited manner he reproached them with the ungrate-
 ful return they made for all he had done for them;

Alexander
 quells it by his
 firmness;

B O O K and, at the conclusion of his speech, abruptly left
 I. the assembly, retired to his tent, and commanded,
 Sect. 3. that his person should henceforward be intrusted to
 Persian guards, and that the different corps of Asiatic
 troops should hold the same rank, and enjoy the
 same privileges, which the Macedonians had lately
 possessed.

The King's firmness on this occasion had its full
 effect. The Macedonians were naturally attached
 to his person; and, notwithstanding the deep shades
 that darkened his character, his brighter qualities,
 which were mostly of the popular kind, his bravery
 especially, and munificent spirit, were held in the
 highest estimation. Above all, they could not bear
 to be thus indignantly debarred from his presence,
 and excluded from his favor and confidence. For
 three days, during which time he kept himself shut
 up, they remained immoveable around his tent,
 bewailing, in the most affecting manner, their
 indiscretion; they threw their arms from them, as
 if unworthy to carry them longer; and declared,
 they would never quit the place, until restored to
 their sovereign's favor and forgiveness. Alexander,
 at length, was prevailed on to show himself. At sight
 of their prince, the Macedonians burst into the most
 affectionate lamentations; Alexander himself began
 to soften; he melted also into tears; he permitted his
 people to approach him, to embrace him. What
 had afflicted his countrymen most deeply, they told
 him, was, that he had withdrawn his regard from
 them, and permitted the Persians to be his kinsmen.
 "You are all my kinsmen," replied Alexander, and

receives his
 army again
 into favor,
 upon their
 repentance;

“ from this day it is the name by which I shall distinguish you.” By the laws of Macedon, the king’s kindred had a right to salute him, and they were all accordingly admitted to that honor. B O O K
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A sumptuous banquet sealed the reconciliation; the King entertaining nine thousand guests at one time. From the order of the entertainment, of which we have an account in Arrian²⁵, it appears, that he had not lost sight of his favorite scheme of coalition. In the most honorable place were the Macedonians; next to them the Persians; and after the Persians other Nations. In conjunction with the Grecian soothsayers, the Persian magi were employed in offering up vows for the prosperity and union of all the inhabitants of his empire. One common bowl was brought, out of which King and people performed their libations; and at the conclusion was sung a paeon, or song of praise to the Immortal Gods, Greeks, as well as Barbarians, joining in the chorus. makes a common banquet for his soldiers of every nation;
in what view;

It was then settled²⁶, that as many Greeks and Macedonians as were become unequal to the fatigues of the field, should have permission to return home. This permission was attended with every mark of distinction the old soldiers could possibly desire. Not only their arrears were punctually cleared off, they likewise received a talent each, besides money sufficient to defray their expenses to Greece. Instructions were, at the same time, dispatched to Macedon, dismisses his disabled veterans in the most honorable manner;

²⁵ L. vii. c. 11.

²⁶ Arrian, L. vii. c. 12. Plut. in Alexand.

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that at all solemnities they should have places of pre-eminence assigned to them; that they should be free from all imposts; and that whatever privileges were conferred on them, should, upon their death, be enjoyed by their children. This grateful remembrance of the services of his brave veterans, exhibits Alexander to us in a very advantageous point of view.

and appoints
Craterus to
command
them.

What rendered this notice of the King of greater value, was, the choice of the person to whom his men were given in charge. Craterus was named to this service, an officer of the first distinction in the Macedonian armies, and who was known to be highly esteemed by Alexander. The appointment of such an officer the veterans considered as a particular honor done to themselves.

The govern-
ment of Mace-
don intended
for Craterus.

It was the King's intention, that Craterus, upon his arrival in Greece, should succeed Antipater, and that Antipater should pass into Asia. Many think, that the repeated complaints preferred by Olympias, whose ambitious and intriguing spirit was impatient of the control under which Antipater held her, had occasioned his being superseded; and that severe measures were actually in agitation against him. Whatever views Alexander had, he did not live to carry them into execution.

Hephaestion
dies;

Soon after this transaction, he lost Hephaestion, who died of a fever in Ecbatana; a loss which Alexander seems to have borne with great agitation of mind. In others he saw the dependents of his fortune, in Hephaestion he possessed a friend. "Craterus loves the King," he was wont to say, "but

“ Hephæstion loves Alexander ²⁷.” This tender B O O K
 connexion, subsisting from their earliest years, had I.
 never suffered the least diminution. Though he Sect. 3.
 lived with the King on the most familiar terms, and
 was admitted to his most secret councils, he enjoyed his character.
 the royal favor without insolence, and, what is still
 more extraordinary, without exciting envy. How
 temperately he used his power, may be gathered
 from the two following instances: A musician, of
 whom he was fond, had possessed himself of certain
 quarters, to which Eumenes, an officer of note,
 and at this time secretary to the King, laid claim ²⁸.
 Hephæstion supported his favorite; Eumenes had the
 spirit to oppose Hephæstion, and, upon an appeal to
 the King, carried the point against him. Some time
 after, Hephæstion differed on some occasion with
 Craterus ²⁹, and this dispute was conducted with
 such heat, that, had not the King interposed his
 authority, it probably had ended fatally. Never-
 theless, it does not appear, that either Craterus or
 Eumenes were afterwards less in favor with Alexan-
 der, or that Hephæstion ever employed his influence
 to their prejudice. He seems, indeed, to have been
 much beloved by the whole army, not only for those
 affable qualities, which adorn the courtier, but also
 for his military abilities, having accompanied Alexan-
 der in all his expeditions, and been frequently em-
 ployed by him in the most arduous enterprises.

²⁷ Plut. in Alexand.

²⁸ Plutarch in Eumene.

²⁹ Plutarch.

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Alexander's
passionate ex-
cesses on this
occasion ;

The extravagances, however, of Alexander³⁰, on this occasion, are not to be justified. When he found that Hephaestion had expired, in a paroxysm of grief he threw himself on the dead body, from which his friends could scarcely remove him. Those persons who had attended his favorite in his last illness, became objects of his resentment, as if it had been owing to them that Hephaestion died. In his phrensy, he accused even the gods for not having preserved a life so dear to him. The sacred fires were extinguished throughout all Asia, which was never before done but upon the King's death ; “ an omen of dark import,” the Asiatics observed, “ to Alexander himself.” Not contented with celebrating Hephaestion's obsequies with all possible magnificence, and erecting a sumptuous monument to his memory at an immense expense, he sent to the temple of Hammon to inquire, whether Hephaestion ought not to be ranked among the demigods. The oracle, too complaisant not to gratify the King, answered as Asia's monarch wished. Hephaestion accordingly was pronounced a demigod, and had suitable honors appointed to him³¹.

He comes to
Babylon.

Alexander had now come to Babylon, where a number of ambassadors from different nations, in consequence of the fame of his achievements, were expecting his return³². It might be imagined, that

³⁰ See Arrian, L. vii. c. 14. Plutarch in Alexand.

³¹ Alexander's extravagance upon the loss of Hephaestion, might have been suggested by his progenitor Achilles's behaviour upon the loss of Patroclus.

³² It appears from Arrian (vii. 15.) that two ancient writers

to a mind such as his, naturally vain and fond of homage, this kind of pomp must have afforded the highest gratification. He notwithstanding appears to have relished it very imperfectly³³. The death of Hephaestion, together with certain anticipations of his own approaching fate, had made deep impression on his mind. As he drew near to Babylon, he met certain Chaldean soothsayers, who besought him not to enter the city, which then lay to the west of him; or, if he did, to go round, and to enter with his face to the eastward; otherwise some fatal destiny threatened to overtake him. But the line, which they had pointed out, being found impracticable, his pride would not suffer him to return back, and he ventured into Babylon by the very way which was forbidden³⁴. Anaxarchus, the philosopher, had endeavoured to reason with his master against idle apprehensions, and to ridicule the boasted skill of these pretended diviners: the King seemed to listen to him with some degree of attention; but it was evident, that his mind enjoyed neither ease nor composure.

In order to dissipate these melancholy thoughts, Alexander began to meditate an expedition against

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Gloomy state
of Alexander's
mind.He endeavours
to dissipate his
melancholy

of Alexander's history, Aristaeus and Asclepiades, related, that among the embassies to Alexander, there was also one from Rome. Other historians make no mention of it.

³³ See Arrian, L. vii. c. 16.

³⁴ The rich revenues belonging to Belus were enjoyed by the Chaldeans, until his temple was re-built; and therefore they endeavoured to keep Alexander from entering Babylon, lest he should urge on a work which it was not their interest to

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by an excursion from Babylon;

sails.

the Arabians³⁵, who had been guilty of the insolence of sending him no embassy; and to set on foot a number of new works for beautifying Babylon, now intended for the seat of empire. Among other undertakings, he proposed to confine the Euphrates to its natural bed. The waters of this river had, for some ages, been suffered to overflow its banks; the adjacent country was greatly damaged, and this province, once the loveliest of Asia, was declining fast into an inhospitable morass. That he might judge what works were necessary, Alexander had a number of vessels prepared, proper for passing the guts, and sailed himself along the several banks to the place where the breach, according to report, had first been made. This excursion, far from administering to him that amusement which he expected, took a very different turn. In the course of his expedition, a gust of wind blew the royal fillet from the King's head to some distance, where the monuments of the ancient Assyrian kings were erected, and it fell intangled among the reeds that grew round the sepulchres. One of the sailors leaped into the river, and, having recovered it, fastened

have finished. As to the King's going round, and entering with his face to the east, they well knew, that the fens on that side had made the road impracticable. See Arrian, L. vii. c. 17.

³⁵ It appears from Arrian (vii. 20.) that his principal view in this expedition was, to compel the Arabians to acknowledge him for one of their gods; they had, he had been told, only two gods; *the heaven*, on account of its being the abode of that beneficent luminary the sun; and *Bacchus*, on account

it inadvertently round his own head³⁶, in order to bring it back with greater safety.

These incidents, of little moment to a mind sound and properly instructed, the superstition of the times pronounced to be omens full of terror; and the King's imagination, already distempered, failed not to lay hold of them.

In this dejected state he re-entered Babylon, where a similar train of dire presages still pursued him. Over his head, as he approached the city, was fought a battle of crows, some of whom fell dead at his feet³⁷; one of the largest lions kept in Babylon, had been kicked to death by an ass. The governor of Babylon had sacrificed, in order to consult the gods concerning his sovereign, and the liver of the victim was found not to have a head. What threatened disaster more than all, the King having undressed, as was customary to him, for the purpose of partaking in some athletic sports, when his attendants went to fetch his clothes, they found a stranger (some lunatic, probably, who had escaped from his keepers) sitting in profound silence on their master's throne, dressed in his royal robes, with the diadem on his head; who, upon examination, pronounced, that the

of his exploits in the Indies; "and therefore," said he, "as my exploits have not been inferior to those of Bacchus, I likewise have a right to be worshipped by them."

³⁶ To avert the omen of this casual usurpation of the diadem, the Chaldean soothsayers, according to some historians, directed, that the officious sailor should be rewarded with a talent, and afterwards put to death.

³⁷ Plutarch in Alexand.

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His melan-
choly in-
creases;

he returns to
Babylon;

meets with
sinister
omens;

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god Serapis had conducted him thither, and had ordered him to array himself in that attire, and to sit there in solemn silence. This madman, by the direction of the soothsayers, was put to death³⁸.

is distressed
by them;

From all these circumstances, the anguish of Alexander's mind increased more and more, as if, to use Plutarch's words, in despair of the succours of heaven³⁹. And so strongly had fears and anxieties taken hold on him, that every thing which happened, in the least degree strange or unusual, he converted into an evil sign or prodigy.

has recourse
to intempe-
rance;

What remedies the religious notions then prevailing directed the use of, expiatory rites and sacrifices, were employed profusely. The court swarmed with purifiers and prognosticators, all exercising their talents in behalf of the royal person. But these affording little relief, he endeavoured to drown reflection in a course of banqueting and intemperance, to which he had of late been much addicted. He had spent one day and part of the night in this manner⁴⁰, and was returning home to rest, when Medius, who was now much in his favor, requested the King to honor him at an entertainment he had just prepared. With Medius he continued carousing the remainder of the night; and, after a short repose, renewed the same scene of riot. The consequences of such irregularity might have been easily foreseen. Before Alexander left the company of Medius, he had contracted a

is seized with
a fever in
consequence
of it;

³⁸ See Arrian, L. vii. c. 18. & Plut. ubi sup.

³⁹ Δύσελπις πρὸς τὸ θεῖον. in Alexand.

⁴⁰ Arrian, L. vii. c. 24 & seq.

fever. He, however, slighted it, and for some days continued to receive the reports of his chief officers, and to canvass with them the schemes he was meditating. On the ninth day the violence of his distemper had risen to such a height, that his recovery began to be despaired of. His principal officers, alarmed at their situation, pressed him to name a successor, in case it was their misfortune to lose him. "The worthiest," he answered; but he "foresaw, that his obsequies would be obsequies of blood."

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his vague
manner of
appointing
his successor;

It being now spread abroad, that the King was dying, the soldiers insisted on being admitted to take a last farewell of their beloved master. He was unable to speak; but, raising himself up, offered his hand as they passed, expressing by his looks, notwithstanding his melancholy situation, the pleasure he took in these marks of their affection. On the eleventh day he expired⁴¹, having, some minutes before, delivered his royal signet to Perdiccas, which by many was considered to be a tacit appointment of him as his successor. Alexander died in the thirty-third year of his age, after a reign of twelve years and eight months, being exactly twenty at the time of Philip's death. He left only one son, Hercules, by Barsine, daughter to Artabazus, and widow to Memnon. But his wife Roxana was far advanced in her pregnancy; and Statira also was supposed to be in the same situation.

affection of
his army
towards him;

he dies.

It is here highly deserving of notice, how exactly Remarkable

⁴¹ OLYMP. CXIV. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 323.

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completion of
the prophe-
cies concern-
ing Alexan-
der;

what the prophet foretold of Alexander had its accomplishment. This Prince had been destined to overthrow the empire of the Medes and Persians; which, as soon as he had performed, we see his power brought to an end, and in the very way the prophet ⁴² had predicted; *his kingdom broken, and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled*. What is not less remarkable, it had been pronounced by the Almighty, that Babylon should be a desolation, and the temple of Belus *broken unto the ground* ⁴³, never to rise from its ruins. At the very time Alexander, with every thing in his power for executing what he designed, is preparing to raise the temple of Belus again, and restore Babylon ⁴⁴ to its ancient splendor, his purpose is defeated, and the breath of life taken from him.

⁴² See Daniel viii. 5, 6, 7. 20, 21, 22. and xi. 4.

⁴³ See Isaiah xxi. 9.

⁴⁴ In ancient days, Babylon was famed for its commerce and naval power. Originally, the country was a flat morass, often overflowed by the Euphrates and the Tigris. Semiramis, the supposed foundress of the Babylonian greatness, has the glory of having improved the country, by cutting a number of drains through it, and raising embankments to confine the Euphrates within its channel: by these labors the river was rendered navigable; and she is said to have had on it a fleet of three thousand galleys. Nebuchadnezzar carried the improvement much farther; he caused two canals to be cut a hundred miles above the city; the first on the eastern side, by which the Euphrates was let into the Tigris, so that the city was supplied with the produce of the whole country to the north of it, as far as the Euxine and Caspian seas, and enjoyed also the trade of the Persian gulph, into which the Euphrates opened; this canal was called Naharmalea, or *the Royal River*: the

The

The opinion, that this conqueror was taken off by poison, which several of the ancient writers have adopted, appears from Arrian to be altogether groundless. Probably, the precarious state of Antipater's affairs at this juncture, from the suspicions laid to be conceived of him, and the powerful inducements he might be supposed to have, to attack

B O O K

I.

Sect. 3.

suspicious of
his having
been taken
off by poison,
ill founded;

other canal was on the western side, and was called Pallacopas, or Naharaga, *the River of the Pool*, by which the redundant waters were carried into a vast lake, forty miles square, contrived not only to lessen the inundation, but also as a reservoir, to water the barren country on the Arabian side. Cyrus, in his siege of Babylon, by turning the whole river into the lake by the Pallacopas, laid the channel, where it ran through the city, almost dry, so that his army entered it both above and below by the bed of the river. From the great quantity of water admitted into the lake, the sluices and dams were much damaged; and the Persian monarchs, residing in their own country, paid no attention to the inconvenience; and besides, to prevent any invasion by sea on that part of their empire, purposely obstructed the navigation of both rivers, by making cataracts in them, that is, by raising dams across the channel, and making artificial falls. Alexander began to restore the navigation of the rivers, by removing the cataracts upon the Tigris, and repairing the breaches in the Pallacopas; but did not live to finish his great designs. From his time, the Euphrates, which in summer always swells from the melting of the snows in the mountains of Armenia, had been suffered to waste its waters on the neighbouring country: so that this province, once the loveliest and richest part of Asia, has by degrees declined again into an inhospitable morass, in which not the least vestige of its former splendor is to be found. So exactly has the word of the Almighty had its completion. See Bishop Lowth on Isaiah, 202. 207, 208. See also Huet, *Histoire du Commerce*, ch. xi. and Arrian vii. 21.

B O O K a life from which he had every thing to fear, first
 I. gave rise to this report; and the report might be
 Sect. 3. encouraged afterwards by Olympias, who held
 Antipater and his house in utter detestation, and
 who wished his destruction.

variety in the
 accounts we
 have of him.

Of all the great personages of antiquity, whose fortunes and exploits have so frequently employed the historical pen, and of whom romantic, and often opposite accounts have been delivered to posterity, there is none more distinguished than Alexander. The chastest and most consistent of his historians appears to be Arrian; and yet in him there are matters liable to objection. It is remarkable too, that Aristobulus and Ptolemy, from whose memoirs chiefly Arrian compiled his history, and who attended Alexander in person in all his expeditions, are not always agreed about facts, of which they might be supposed to be well informed. Possibly they sought to cast a shade over some transactions, which, for obvious reasons, they wished had never existed.

His character;

What judgment is to be formed of him, may be gathered from the preceding pages. Military glory was certainly his ruling passion. And accordingly the virtues, or, to speak more properly, the shining qualities, for which he is celebrated, appear to have been mostly such as belong to the military character — boundless munificence — an open frankness of disposition — generous attention to the situation and wants of his men — an excellent foresight — daring courage — admirable presence of mind in the midst of danger — and a

shining qua-
 lities;

wonderful quickness, to seize every advantage in the day of battle. B O O K I.

Together with these qualities, he possessed all the advantages of body, which florid health, natural strength of constitution, and constant exercise, are wont to bestow. He was patient of fatigue; and in agility, horsemanship, dexterity in the management of every warlike weapon, and in capacity for enduring hunger and thirst, heat and cold, he stood without a rival. Sect. 3. advantages of body;

Nor was he wanting in the softer virtues which embellish the human character. He was capable of all the tenderness of friendship: of an easy, cordial, affectionate deportment to all who approached him; and, notwithstanding the roughness of martial life, he retained, for a considerable time, that elegance of sentiment, which Grecian manners, and the early study of philosophy, were calculated to inspire. He proved his refined feelings in the delicacy with which he treated the princesses of the house of Darius. He showed it in the extraordinary care he took to protect the Asiatic nations, whom he conquered, from that rapacity and licentiousness of which the lower military orders are frequently guilty. humane disposition;

But the Macedonian Prince was soon to degenerate from these promising beginnings, was to become insolent, oppressive, and vain, barbarous, cruel, and the sport of intemperance and pusillanimity. faults;

It was Alexander's misfortune, that conquest was his darling passion; and the success he met with encouraged him to proceed. His first expedition causes whence they proceeded.

B O O K I. against Darius bore an air of justice. The servitude to which the Grecian colonists had been reduced;
Sect. 3. the repeated attempts made by the Persian monarchs against the liberties of Greece; and, when the superiority of the Grecian arms had forced them to desist from avowed hostilities, the artful manner in which they had endeavoured, by intrigue and corruption, to divide the Greeks among themselves, and thus to bring the whole nation into a state of humiliation and dependence, furnished at least a decent pretext for retaliation: according, therefore, to the usual maxims of human policy, his invasion of Persia might be vindicated. But, when he had a fair opportunity of confining the Persian monarch within narrower bounds, and of giving independence to all the nations of the Lower Asia; when he even overthrew the Persian monarchy, and saw himself seated on the throne of Cyrus; he had not wisdom to stop at this point; the lust of conquest hurrying him on from nation to nation, and from climate to climate, where he had not even the pretence of wrongs to vindicate, or of injuries to redress. And probably, had his life been spared, there was not a part of the globe to which he would not have carried his arms, and involved in the ravages of war; and “had he not found a man left to contend with,” says Arrian, “he had fought with himself.”

There is reason to believe, that this martial disposition grew up the stronger in Alexander, from the impressions he received in his youth. The reign of Philip had been a series of wars; and the manners of

his court, and even the language spoken in it, were all in the military style. B O O K
I.

Alexander, besides, had taken an early predilection for the character of Achilles, which, even in his riper age, appears to have operated powerfully on his mind. Aristotle, to whom the care of his education was intrusted, had with great judgment recommended to him to make the writings of Homer his particular study, as containing the most useful precepts, both for forming a prince and for the government of a people. But, unluckily, among the many illustrious personages, whose manners the father of poetry has delineated, the young prince fixed upon Achilles for his model. He did not consider, that it was far from the poet's intention to propose to us "the violent, implacable warrior, to whom every claim is just that can be supported by force of arms," as a perfect model for imitation. The poet only meant to show what devastation the fierce passions make in the noblest minds, and of what fatal ills, to the human species in general, they are productive. But Achilles, Alexander had been told, was one of his progenitors; and therefore he viewed these excesses with partiality. Possibly also it may be said, that he was the more struck with his character, on account of the resemblance it bore to his own. They were the features of Alexander, which he admired in Homer's hero. Sect. 3.

But, whatever were the causes that contributed to strengthen in him this turn to military glory, it is certain, that, indulging it in the wanton manner he did, and the repeated scenes of carnage it engaged

BOOK I
Sect. 3. him in, produced, by degrees, that fierceness of disposition and character, which is the reproach of his latter years. Accustomed to have submission yielded to the terror of his name, he began to look on every resistance to his arms as treason, which he was authorized to punish, putting frequently whole nations to the sword, merely because they had families, whom they strove to defend, and rights, which they were unwilling to surrender. The servility, also, with which he was treated by those whom he had brought into subjection, inspired him with a vanity of which Greece had seen no example. It was the custom of eastern nations to adore their princes; and Alexander would be adored. Some of the heroes of old had been deified by their uninstructed followers. The Macedonian would be deified also; and, because his Grecian veterans, who were accustomed to other manners, and were ardent supporters of liberty, opposed these insolent pretensions, he forgot he was their king, he attempted to become their tyrant. His temper, naturally violent, became impetuous. All who would not submit to abject servility and compliance, he pronounced disaffected; and sacrificed to his suspicions, and to his jealousy, the most faithful and most worthy of his servants.

His superstitious fears;

What appears most extraordinary, in a prince, conspicuous, as the son of Philip was, for courage and firmness of mind, is the vulgar superstition which marked the latter period of his days. It has been observed by some authors⁴⁵, that he was always

⁴⁵ See St. Evremond, Jugement d'Alexandre & de César,

superstitious; and certainly he was, if revering the gods of his country, and endeavouring to conciliate their favor by those means which he had been taught to think of most efficacy, can properly be deemed superstition. What affected his latest days was of a different nature, and seems to have arisen from another cause. Appalling fears had seized his imagination, and, in spite of all his efforts, had subdued his mind. What these were, ancient writers have not informed us. It may not, perhaps, be too bold a conjecture, that the outrages which he had committed upon his own subjects, embruing his hands in the blood of Clitus, the base and more criminal assassination of Parmenio, and the death of the virtuous Callisthenes, had a considerable share in exciting those horrors, to which, in the end, he fell a victim; for to them, surely, was owing that intemperance in which he at last fatally took refuge.

B O O K
I.
Sect. 3.

and whence,
probably,
they arose.

Should it be asked, if civilization and happiness was the result of his exploits to those nations whom he subdued? or, if any advantages accrued from them, at least to Macedon? — Even here must history, if she bears faithful record, decide against him. This is not the place for producing proofs in support of this decision; they will be seen in the subsequent sheets of this work.

How far he
advanced the
happiness of
the nations he
conquered,
or even of his
own people.

An important instrument. “ he doubtless was in the

He was an in-
strument in
the hand of
Providence,

“ “ Howbeit, he doth not so purpose,” may we justly say of him, as the prophet (Isaiah x. 7.) said of the Assyrian, “ neither doth his heart so intend; but to destroy is in his heart, and to cut off nations not a few.” Isaiah by Bishop Lowth.

B O O K

I.

Sect. 3.

and for what
ends.In what de-
gree of estima-
tion he ought
to be held.

hand of Providence, for executing that vengeance on Babylon and her dependent provinces, which their oppressions and crimes had long provoked, and which the Almighty had, by his prophets, denounced against them; and for opening a more free communication ⁴⁷ between the eastern and western worlds, in order to the gracious purposes of eternal Wisdom. But at the same time he was, in his day, a scourge to mankind; a scourge to the Macedonians themselves, whose interest and prosperity he pretended to have in view.

It may, therefore, justly be esteemed matter of wonder, that such a character should ever have been thought a fit model for princes; and that comparing them to Alexander should have been numbered among those exalted compliments, that flattery is wont to pay to greatness and power. This propensity seems to have taken its rise in the days of chivalry, when a frantic exertion of valor, ranging from country to country in quest of exploits and adventures, was supposed to constitute the highest degree of personal merit. Alexander might have been the hero of such an age. But more civilized times must often regard his character in a different, and less favorable light ⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ See Bishop Lowth on Isaiah xix. 18. and xxiv. 14.

⁴⁸ The death of Alexander was followed by that of Sisygam-bis*. When she heard that he was no more, she refused to live. She had survived the fall of Darius, and the ruin of her royal house; but so noble was the treatment she had received from Alexander, that losing him seemed to her to be the filling up of the measure of her afflictions; and she put an end to her life by voluntary abstinence.

* Quint. Cur. L. x. c. 5.

H I S T O R Y O F G R E E C E.

B O O K II.

S E C T I O N I.

C O N T E N T S.

Alterations, from Philip's accession, in the political system of the several Grecian states — with regard to Persia — and of Macedon — from what causes — Agis of Lacedemon attempts to vindicate the Grecian liberties against Macedon — his spirited conduct — defeat — and death — Character of Demosthenes, considered as a patriot — his unjust condemnation and banishment — The Athenians, exasperated by Alexander's control of their liberties, prepare for war — upon Alexander's death take up arms — recal Demosthenes — march against Antipater — their imprudent confidence — defeated — forced to submit to the Macedonians. — Demosthenes flies to Calauria — dies — in what manner — abasement of Athens after his death.

IT is time to return to Greece, in order to view the state of affairs there, during the period of which we have been speaking.

B O O K
II.
Sect. I.

B O O K

II.

Sect. I.

Alterations
in the political
views of the
Grecian states.

The important changes that had taken place in the fortunes of Macedon, and the bold schemes of ambition, which Philip first, and Alexander afterwards, were seen to pursue, had produced a considerable alteration in the interests and political views of the several states of Greece. Long before this period, the Persian power had ceased to be that object of terror it formerly had been, when Greece found it necessary to exert her utmost strength against that empire, for the preservation of her liberties. To that generous display of patriotism and disinterested spirit, which marked those illustrious times, other principles had succeeded. Greece was composed of a number of independent states. No longer alarmed with apprehensions from Asia, they began to contend for domination among themselves. Athens and Sparta especially, who both possessed the highest splendor that the wisdom of laws and the glory of great achievements can confer, disdained to be any thing less than the rulers of all Greece, and carried on the contest for sovereignty and pre-eminence, with all that virulence which is generally the reproach of domestic wars. The Persian monarchs beheld with pleasure contentions from which they derived security. They employed all the arts of intrigue, in which they appear to have been well skilled, to keep alive these dissensions. They had their emissaries in every corner of Greece. They excited jealousies against the powerful; they supplied with means of defence those states who seemed to be exhausted; and at length accustomed the people, who had disclaimed all ideas of peace *with them*,

to court their friendship, and to accept of pecuniary aids. BOOK II.

This plan, indeed, at different times, suffered interruption, particularly under the vigorous reign of Agesilaus. But these interruptions were short, and without material consequences. Popular orators also, occasionally, in order to recommend themselves to public favor, still affected to call Persia's kings the natural enemies of the Grecian people, and used to recite the glorious exploits their forefathers had achieved against them. Yet the general policy was, to consider the Persian monarch as a prince, from whose corrupted and unwieldy empire Greece had nothing now to apprehend, and to whose influence and treasures it was not disreputable to have recourse. Sect. I.
Reign of
Agesilaus.

When the Macedonian princes grew formidable, and their subtil schemes began to unfold themselves, these friendly dispositions towards the Persian king acquired additional strength; and what had been, probably, in many cases the suggestions of a narrow ambition, were now found to be the dictates of sound policy. The Greeks saw evidently, that their existence as a nation was immediately connected with the support of the Persian monarch; that Persia was the only power that could balance the Macedonian; and, if the former was once overthrown, their liberties must soon share the same fate. The power of
Macedon
grows formidable;

This explains transactions, from which otherwise we might be tempted to draw improper inferences. Some of the ablest statesmen, and first leaders of Greece, appear, at this juncture, to have been and induces
many of the
Greeks to
look to Persia
for protection.

B O O K

II.

Sect. I.

strongly attached to the Persian monarch; to have kept up a constant intercourse with his ministers; and to have frequently received large remittances from them. Demosthenes, among many others, countenanced these principles and adopted this practice; but we are not to imagine they were betraying their country¹. It was, in fact, their attention to her real interest that produced these measures. The cause of Persia was become the cause of Greece.

Philip endeavours to prevent this;

Philip possessed too much sagacity, not to perceive the tendency of this political system; and was too able a statesman, not to counteract it. *He* also employed *his* emissaries. He availed himself of those popular prejudices against the Persian name, which had still possession of the multitude. His orators took every opportunity of displaying, with studied aggravation, all the hostile attempts ever made against Greece by Persia; and of pouring out invectives against those base betrayers of their country, who had sold themselves to their sworn enemy. At the same time he assumed the specious character of "Assertor of the independence of the Grecian people."

obtains the appointment of General of Greece against the Barbarians;

These popular acts, aided by a variety of intrigues, and supported by the vigor and success of his military operations, had their effect. And, notwithstanding the suspicions entertained of him by many of the states of Greece, and the formal opposition of some of the most considerable, he had the address to carry the point he had long in view, and to procure himself

¹ See Plutarch in Demosth.

to be elected, in the great council of the nation, B O O K
 GENERAL OF THE GREEKS AGAINST THE BARBARIANS. II.

Sect. I.

What use this profound politician would have made of this nominal sovereignty, is left to our conjectures. He died before he could execute the extensive and dies. projects he had formed.

The Greeks imagined, his schemes had expired with him; that they had now little to fear from an unexperienced and raw youth, who neither possessed the depth of thought, nor the ability for execution, by which his father had been distinguished. Their contempt of him was their ruin. Before they entertained any suspicion of Alexander's designs, he appeared in the midst of their national council, and firmly demanded his father's appointment of generalissimo, urging his plea with all the plausibility of argument that the most practised statesman could have employed. The steadiness with which he made this requisition, and his persuasive manner of enforcing it, joined to their own surprise and embarrassment, extorted from them a consent, in which their affections had little share. Alexander saw what interpretation he was to give to this act; and, to confirm their servitude, determined they should be taught to know, it was not an useless weapon they had put into his hands. The Thebans soon furnished him with an opportunity. They, as we have seen, endeavoured to shake off the Macedonian yoke; the Macedonian King treated them as rebels, who had risen against their lawful sovereign, laying their city in ruins, and almost exterminating their nation. Alexander's activity and vigor;

his chastisement of the Thebans.

The consternation into which this act of severity

B O O K

II.

Sect. I.

Humiliation
of Greece.

threw all Greece, answered Alexander's purpose effectually; and he was already in Asia, before they had recovered from their panic. Antipater had instructions to observe their motions with a jealous eye; and, by keeping a respectable force in readiness for action, to prevent, if possible, their disaffection from breaking out into open hostilities. But, besides the impression which the dread of Antipater and the fate of Thebes might have made on the minds of the Greeks, there were also many other considerations, not less powerful, to restrain them from taking an active part at this conjuncture. They were no longer the noble-spirited people they had been; corrupted by dissipation and pleasure, their citizens were without strength for war, their leaders ignorant or timid. Far from conspiring together in any generous or beneficial purpose, their several states were disunited from each other by distrusts, by jealousies, by resentment of former injuries. In many of the Grecian cities, the creatures of Macedon predominated, and directed every public act: and where the real friends of Greece retained any share of power, such was the confusion of the public councils, from the diffidence and hesitation of one party, and the contests and perplexing arts of the other, that it was not possible their deliberations should terminate in any measure vigorous and effectual.

Agis king of
Sparta;

Sparta alone seemed to testify a real concern for the prosperity of Greece. Less exposed, from the nature of her government, to the influence of Macedonian intrigues, she enjoyed, besides, the advantage of having on the throne a prince active

B O O K

II.

Sect. 1.

his character;

and intrepid, Agis, grandson of the great Agefilaus, who had an early insight into the schemes of the kings of Macedon, and beheld with indignation the Grecian liberties falling before them. To him may be ascribed the opposition made to Alexander by the Spartan deputies, in the general convention of the states of Greece, notwithstanding the tame compliance of the other members of which that assembly was composed. Even before he was seated on the throne, Agis had been remarkable for his spirited behaviour at the court of Philip. He had been dispatched *alone* on an embassy to that Court; and the Macedonian, who saw himself attended by a number of ambassadors from every other Grecian State, displeased that Sparta had been thus deficient, observed with a contemptuous sneer, "What! from Sparta but one!" — "Why," replied Agis, "I was sent but to one²."

The advanced age of Cleomenes, the other Spartan king, not permitting him to attend to the more laborious offices of government, the military department devolved on Agis; a task to which his genius and abilities were well suited. He infused new vigor into the Spartans. He formed a powerful confederacy throughout the Peloponnesus. He excited an insurrection in Crete. He kept up a strict connexion with Darius, at whose court he had ambassadors, and of whose motions and counsels he had regular intelligence. It was with Agis that Memnon had concerted the important diversion of carrying

his policy;

² Plutarch in Apophthegm.

B O O K

II.

Sect. I.

his attempt to
save Greece;

defeat,

and death.

Consequences
of this victory.

the war into Macedon; which, as we have already observed, was prevented by Memnon's death.

The disastrous state of Darius's affairs after the battle of Issus, increased the apprehensions of Agis. He perceived there was no time to be lost; and the conjecture seemed favorable. Alexander was employed in the distant provinces of Asia; a rebellion in Thrace had obliged Antipater to turn his attention thither; and a considerable body of Greek mercenaries, who had escaped from Issus, had, after a variety of fortune, made their way into Greece, and joined the Spartans. Encouraged by these several incidents, he took the field, and marched against Megalopolis, the only city in Peloponnesus that held out for the Macedonians. Antipater was alarmed; he composed matters in Thrace in the best manner he was able; and hastened to oppose an enemy, whose attempt, if successful, might have been followed by a general defection of the rest of Greece. The Macedonian fortune once more prevailed. Agis was overpowered by the superior numbers of Antipater, and fell pierced with wounds. His men would have secured his retreat; but he refused to survive the expiring liberties of his country, and continued fighting to the last¹.

This victory was of essential service to Alexander. It dissipated the Peloponnesian confederacy, which might have led to dangerous consequences. It provided effectually for the security of his hereditary

¹ Diod. Sic. L. xvii. c. 6. Quint. Cur. L. vi. c. 1. Just. L. xii. c. 1.

dominions,

dominions, and left him at leisure to pursue his schemes of foreign conquests. Jealous, however, of the glory Antipater derived from his victory, Alexander affected to make light of what he had performed. "Whilst our arms have been employed against Darius," said he, "there has, it seems, been a battle of mice in Arcadia*." Had the Persian monarch furnished Agis with seasonable and ample supplies, and enabled him, before it was too late, to make that diversion, which such a prince, properly supported, might have made; and had the Grecians, at the same time, sensible of their situation, and animated with the virtue of their ancestors, exerted themselves in conjunction with him; Alexander had probably found it a very different war from what *he* had to wage against the ill-disciplined and effeminate Asiatics.

Athens had not joined in the confederacy with Agis. The hostile wishes, however, and private intrigues of Demosthenes and his party were no secret to Antipater; and he determined they should share in the humiliation to which Greece was now reduced by his victorious arms. Demosthenes had long been the most formidable enemy the Macedonian interest had to contend with in Athens, and the states connected with her. His powers of eloquence it were superfluous to enlarge upon. They have been long the subject of universal panegyric; and the applause they obtained from a people, who, in high spirit, exquisite taste, and quickness of apprehen-

Demosthenes
obnoxious to
the Macedo-
nian govern-
ment;

his character,
as an orator;

* Plutarch in Agesilao.

B O O K fion, have never been excelled, if ever equalled,
 II. and the amazing effects they often produced among
 Sect. I. them; arresting every ear in the midst of their most
 impetuous pursuits, and compelling men to adopt
 schemes they were most adverse to; abundantly
 as a patriot; declare the vast extent of his oratorical powers. But,
 how exalted soever he stands deservedly as an orator,
 his character as a statesman and a patriot, in which
 lights we are at present to consider him, challenges
 infinitely more our admiration. He has the merit of
 having made the earliest discovery of Philip's real
 designs; he intuitively saw into his very soul; and,
 with a sagacity almost prophetic, pointed out to his
 fellow-citizens the several objects of the ambition of
 that aspiring prince, when he could hardly be
 supposed yet to have formed them. The love of ease,
 which now prevailed among the Athenians, the
 natural consequence of voluptuous manners, together
 with the contempt with which they were accustomed
 to look down on Macedon and her kings, rendered
 them at first inattentive to the warnings of this
 faithful counsellor. He was not discouraged. The
 more his countrymen were immersed in pleasures,
 the louder and the more active was his zeal. He
 attacked their indolence and degeneracy with the
 keenest severity. He tore them from their favorite
 amusements. He forced open the miser's purse; and
 drove the voluptuary to the field of battle. He
 roused, in like manner, the other Grecian states
 from their inactivity. He watched Philip's motions,
 in Thrace, in Illyricum, in Thessaly, and, subtle
 as the Macedonian was, often counteracted his best-

concerted plans. He baffled him at Bizantium; he baffled him at Thermopylæ; and at last forced him to venture all on the cast of a battle at Chaeronea. Philip was indeed victorious; but he owed this victory to causes in which Demosthenes had no concern.

That fatal event was soon followed by those signal successes which attended Alexander's arms, first in Europe, then in Asia; all which rendered any opposition to the Macedonian power exceedingly difficult and hazardous. Demosthenes, nevertheless, still persisted, neither gained over by hopes of personal advantage, nor intimidated by the perils with which he saw himself surrounded. He withstood the creatures of Macedon on all occasions. He supported the Persian interest, as far as the ancient prepossessions of the multitude permitted him; and there is reason to believe, that if Agis had proved successful against Antipater, he would have endeavoured, and probably with effect, to make Athens declare in his favor.

his firmness in
times of diffi-
culty;

What makes the character of Demosthenes more remarkable, and serves to show how strong his feelings for his country must have been, was his constitutional cowardice. Intrepid as he was, when pleading the cause of Athens; in the field of battle he had not even the firmness of a common soldier.

constitution-
ally timid;

In one point, however, Demosthenes seems to have been mistaken. His design was, to restore to the Athenian constitution its pristine vigor; and to recal that spirit, which had formerly produced such wonderful effects. But that spirit was not, to be

mistaken in
one point;

B O O K recalled. The source of it, Athenian virtue, was
 II. no more.

Sect. I.
 and is op-
 posed by Pho-
 cion,

Phocion, an illustrious Athenian of these times, who had all the integrity, though none of the enthusiasm, of Demosthenes, opposed him upon this principle. “Since the Athenians,” said he⁵, “in their present degeneracy, are no longer able to fill their ancient glorious sphere, let them adapt their counsels to their abilities, and rather court the friendship of that power, which they cannot provoke but to their destruction.” Demosthenes could not forbear looking back to the age of a Themistocles and a Cimon. His designs certainly argued nobler sentiments and a greater elevation of mind. But the temperate patriotism of Phocion had doubtless the advantage in point of wisdom.

charged with
 having re-
 ceived a bribe
 from Harpa-
 lus;

Greece now humbled by Antipater's arms, the enemies of Demosthenes soon found an opportunity, which they had long sought for, of bringing him to disgrace and public condemnation. Harpalus, of whom mention has already been made, having plundered the treasures which Alexander had committed to his care, fled to Athens, in hopes of protection. Demosthenes was one of the first men to urge to the people the expediency of refusing shelter to such a traitor, conjuring them not to draw on themselves Alexander's resentment in a cause so disreputable. But Harpalus, who knew well how to distribute his gold, had secured a number of orators on his side, and might probably have continued in Athens without farther molestation, had not the

⁵ Plutarch in Phocione.

report of Alexander's sending a formidable fleet to chastise the Athenians for giving him shelter, obliged them to expel him from their city. This act of justice was followed by another. An inquiry was instituted concerning those persons who had received presents from Harpalus; and directions were given that they should be prosecuted. This was the engine which Antipater's creatures employed successfully against Demosthenes. He was charged with having taken Harpalus's gold; and upon trial before the Areopagus was condemned, and fined fifty talents, which, ^{banished.} being unable to pay, he was forced into exile.

The circumstances of this charge, as related by Plutarch, carry, nevertheless, upon the face of them, an air of fiction and absurdity. Demosthenes, we are told, was present when Harpalus was landing his treasure; and, a gold cup of great value and elegant workmanship having caught his eye, Harpalus, who observed him admiring it, desired he would poise it in his hand, in order to guess at the weight; Demosthenes asked what it might amount to, "To you," replied Harpalus, "it shall bring twenty talents;" and accordingly sent it with twenty talents to the orator's house. Demosthenes was next day to have appeared against him before the assembly of the people; but the gold cup having shown him the cause in a different light, he excused himself upon pretence of a sudden cold.

So coarse and shameless a traffic almost exceeds belief, and argues an indelicacy, such as we can

* Plutarch in Demosthene.

B O O K II. hardly suppose an Athenian would have been guilty of, much less a Demosthenes, who had an exalted character to maintain, and who must have known the difficulty of concealing such a transaction from public observation. The conduct of such a man must, in policy, have been more guarded, had he even been capable of the meanness to sell himself to Harpalus.

Sect. I.

But not only is this whole narrative highly improbable; there is direct proof from Pausanias⁷, that the accusation was altogether the device of malice. Harpalus fled from Athens to Crete, where he was slain by his own servants; and his principal manager having fallen into the hands of Philoxenus, he compelled him by torture to inform against those Athenians who had received bribes from Harpalus. From his confession, which Philoxenus himself attested, appeared the innocence of Demosthenes. Philoxenus was a naval officer in the service of Alexander, who had a personal enmity to Demosthenes. His testimony, therefore, deserves the fullest credit⁸.

Antipater was too experienced a politician to appear avowedly in this prosecution; it is, however,

⁷ See Pausan. in Corinthiacis, p. 76.

⁸ Even Plutarch's account supplies us with evidence in behalf of Demosthenes. From that historian's own confession, Demosthenes appears to have been the very person who moved for an order that the affair should be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all persons punished, who should be found guilty of having taken bribes. Plut. in Demosthene. Would Demosthenes have done this, had he been conscious of being himself among the guilty?

easy to judge at whose instance, and by whose intrigues, it was carried on. And it must be acknowledged, the artifice was well adapted to the purpose. To have attacked Demosthenes for what was really his crime in the eyes of the Macedonians, "his unalterable zeal for the liberties of his country," had been invidious even in the present situation of things. But, to impeach his integrity; to show to Athens, that the man who was her pride had a corrupted heart, and that his boasted superiority of virtue was nothing more than a greater depth of hypocrisy; was injuring the cause, of which he was the champion, and, as it were, striking at Athenian patriotism through the sides of Demosthenes. The scheme was worthy of Antipater; and so dangerous are the wounds of calumny, that to this day this great man is spoken of, by the superficial inquirer, as having fallen a victim to his own avarice.

who promoted
the charge,
and with what
views.

The condemnation of Demosthenes affords a melancholy view of the debasement, into which the most respectable of the tribunals of Athens had been sunk by that despotic power now possessed by Antipater. The decision of THE CAUSE OF THE CROWN had happened about two years before this period; and it will be proper to explain the nature of that celebrated trial.

Ctesiphon had proposed a decree, by which a golden crown was to be presented to Demosthenes for his services to his country, and particularly for having rebuilt some part of the Athenian walls at his own expense. Aeschines, another Athenian orator, who had devoted himself to the Macedonian interest,

The cause of
the crown.

B O O K II. had indicted Ctesiphon for this proposal, alledging, among other things, that Demosthenes, far from
Sect. I. deserving any honors from his country, was in reality the enemy of Greece. The complaint against Ctesiphon was preferred on the year of the battle of Chaeronea, a season of great humiliation to Athens, and probably chosen by Aeschines and his party on that account. Demosthenes undertook the defence of Ctesiphon. But from various incidents, the hearing of the cause was postponed until⁹ some months after the final overthrow of Darius.

The importance of the question, in which the discussion of the claims of Macedon, the independence of Athens, and, indeed, of every other Grecian state, were evidently involved; together with the great reputation of both the orators, excited universal attention; and from the remotest parts of Greece, multitudes crowded to Athens, to attend the interesting contest¹⁰. The partisans also of Macedon were not inactive, and every kind of solicitation was employed to gain the judges, by whom sentence was to be pronounced. Demosthenes, nevertheless, proved victorious. And Aeschines, not having a fifth of the suffrages in his favor, was, according to the law in such cases, severely fined, and upon non-payment obliged to retire into banishment. This

⁹ OLYMP. cxii. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 329. In the Archonship of Aristophon.—See Palm. Exercit. in Auct. Graec. p. 656.

¹⁰ Οσοῦς οὐδεὶς πώποτε μέμνηται πρὸς ἀγῶνα δημόσιον παραγενομένους: says Aeschines in Ctesiphont. Dubl. 1769, a Stock. — The cause was heard in the court of Heliaea; of which see Potter, b. i. c. 21.

extraordinary success, which was in reality the triumph of liberty over oppression, serves to show, that Athens was not yet broken to the yoke of bondage. Demosthenes's performance on this occasion has certainly the highest degree of merit. Even to us, who have only a distant and assumed interest in the matters agitated, it has such fascinating powers that it is scarcely possible to read it, without feeling some portion of what every honest Athenian must have felt on that important day. His success, however, is not to be altogether ascribed to the force of his eloquence; the circumstances of the times operated also in his favor. Alexander, at that time, was engaged in the remote provinces of Asia, "almost," said the public voice, "beyond the utmost limits of the habitable world," from whence it was not thought he could ever return: so that whether Greece was to preserve or lose her liberties, was a point not yet decided. The emissaries of Macedon could only solicit, they could not dictate. Two years later, perhaps, Demosthenes and Aeschines had changed fortunes.

Degraded as Greece appears now to have been, Alexander thought there was something wanting to complete her humiliation. During the first of his victories in Asia, he affected to treat the Greeks with moderation. To Athens he had paid particular regard; whether he respected the ancient glories of that illustrious city, or whether he felt his vanity

B O O K

II.

Sect. I.

Whence this
different suc-
cess.

Alexander
affects to dic-
tate to the
Grecian
states;

¹¹ "Ἐξω τῆς ἀρκτοῦ καὶ οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου δεῖν πάσης. Aesch. in Ctesiphont.

B O O K II. Sect. I. interested in the judgment which her writers should form concerning him. The latter consideration had probably most weight. As he was passing the Hydaspes, in order to attack Porus, "What dangers am I encountering, O Athenians," was he heard to say, "in order to be celebrated by you"¹²! But his spirit, naturally imperious, and elevated by his repeated successes, and the prostrate servility with which the Asiatic nations approached him, was now become impatient of contradiction; and every struggle for liberty he considered as an insolent invasion of his right of sovereignty. In most of the Grecian states there had long subsisted a contention for power, the body of the people claiming the administration of affairs, and the higher order of citizens endeavouring to wrest it from them. Whatever party prevailed, the chief leaders in opposition were driven into exile. This had filled Greece with exiles from almost every city, and their number, at this period, is said to have amounted to upwards of twenty thousand¹³. Alexander quickly saw what advantage might be reaped from this contingency. If restored to their privileges through him, they were so many of his creatures, of whose devotion he might rest assured: at the same time, the convulsions, into which every state would probably be thrown by the revolutions of power and property, which such an act of indemnity must introduce, would leave the different commonwealths of Greece at his mercy. The popular

¹² Plutarch in Alexand.

¹³ Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1.

government also had been victorious in most of the states; and his undertaking the cause of the exiles furnished Alexander with the very opportunity he wished for, of depressing that party, whose bold and ungovernable zeal for freedom rendered them exceedingly obnoxious. Actuated by these motives, he commanded proclamation to be made at the Olympic games, "that all the exiles, those excepted" who had been guilty of atrocious crimes, should "be forthwith restored to their respective cities;" declaring, that whatever cities refused to receive them, should be compelled by military force¹⁴.

B O O K

II.

Sect. I.

commands
the exiles to
be restored.

There is a degree of oppression, that will rouse the most abject. Alexander's pretending to divine honors, had provoked the ridicule¹⁵ of some of the Grecian states, and the indignation of others. The Athenians had the courage to fine one of their citizens for proposing to enrol him among their gods; and pronounced sentence of death against another, who, when on an embassy, had been mean enough to pay him divine honors¹⁶. These, however, were but

¹⁴ Diod. Sic. up. sup.

¹⁵ The decree of the Spartans, on this occasion, is memorable, and shows what a spirited people they still were, notwithstanding their late humiliation by the defeat of Agis: *Ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος βούλεται θεὸς εἶναι, ἔστω θεός*; "Since Alexander will be a god, let him be a god." — Aelian. L. ii. c. 19.

¹⁶ Demades proposed a law, "that to the twelve great gods of the Athenian ritual Alexander should be added." Incensed at which insolent proposal, the people fined him ten talents, 1,937 l. 10 s. (says Athenaeus, L. vi. c. 126. p. 251. Casaub.) a hundred talents, 19,375 l. (says Aelian, L. v. c. 12. p. 415. Gron.) Evagoras, who, when deputed by

B O O K II. Sect. I. the faint efforts of a people who had not yet forgotten their days of liberty, and no insurrection had followed. But his usurping a control over their municipal privileges, the exercise of which was to the Greeks an object of supreme importance, was more than they could bear. The Athenians, especially, were fired with indignation; they refused to obey; and immediately dispatched ambassadors to all the neighbouring states, in order to excite a general insurrection. The Aetolians were warm in the same cause, having been lately exasperated by certain menacing declarations Alexander was said to have employed against them¹⁷. Whilst this ferment was at the highest, intelligence arrived, that Alexander was dead. Now it was seen what were the real sentiments of the Greeks. Most of them ran to arms, and, having driven out the friends of Macedon, hastened to join the Athenians, who had already a considerable force collected under the command of Leosthenes.

The Athenians refuse to obey;

and invite the other states to join them.

Alexander dies.
Insurrection throughout Greece.

Demosthenes is recalled.

It was on this occasion that Demosthenes was recalled. Though in exile, he still retained unabated zeal for what he thought to be the cause of his country. He attended the Athenian ambassadors in

the Athenians to Alexander, had, in compliance with the vanity of that prince, worshipped him, they condemned to death. Athen. ub. sup.

¹⁷ They had sacked the city of the Oeniadae on the Achelous; and Alexander having been informed of it, "The children of the Oeniadae," said he, "need not avenge their cause; I will myself execute vengeance on the Aetolians."—Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1.

their progress through Peloponnesus; and by his eloquence prevailed on many of the cities to unite with Athens in endeavouring to deliver Greece from the yoke of Macedon. In one of the Arcadian cities he particularly distinguished himself by his opposition to Pytheas, an eminent orator, and a principal instrument of the Macedonian faction; his reply to whom was much celebrated. "The Athenians," said Pytheas, "may be likened unto ass's milk: when brought into any house, it is a certain indication of sickness there; so, whenever they appear in any city, we may surely pronounce that city to be distempered."—"True," answered Demosthenes; "but as ass's milk is the restorative of health, so are distempered states restored to vigor by Athenian counsels."¹⁸ This timely exertion of loyalty, together with the change that had taken place in the Athenian government, pleaded effectually in his behalf. He was restored in the most honorable manner. A galley was fitted out to fetch him from Aegina; and as he came from the Piraeus to Athens, the whole body of citizens, even priests and magistrates, went out to meet him, and to congratulate him on his return. He was still liable to the fine, which, by the laws of Athens, could not be remitted; but they contrived to indemnify him. They assigned to him the office of preparing and adorning the altar on the feast of Jupiter the Preserver, with an appointment of fifty talents, the sum to which his fine amounted.

¹⁸ Plutarch in Demosthene.

B O O K

II.

Sect. I.

Leosthenes
marches
against Anti-
pater,
and over-
comes him.

The exulta-
tion of the
Athenians
reproved by
Phocion.

Leosthenes
slain.

Leosthenes had commenced his military operations with great success¹⁹. He had marched against Antipater at the head of a numerous army, had defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to shut himself up in Lamia in Thessaly, of which he had immediately formed the siege. These prosperous beginnings elated the Athenians; they had already, in their sanguine expectations, driven back the Macedonians within their ancient boundaries; and in a short time, they imagined, Athens was to be raised once more to her former splendor. Phocion thought otherwise. He to the utmost of his power opposed the giddy humors of the people, who, though possibly victorious at first, he knew, had neither steadiness nor strength sufficient to maintain a war of any continuance against Macedon. “What will then be the proper time, do you think, for the Athenians to go to war?” said one of the popular leaders to him, “When the young men,” replied Phocion, “keep within the bounds of order; when the rich are liberal in their contributions; and the orators cease to rob the state.” Even the present flash of success did not mislead his sound judgment. When successive messengers were arriving with tidings of farther advantages obtained over the enemy; “when shall we have done conquering?” said Phocion²⁰.

He was justified by the event. Leosthenes having fallen before Lamia, the Athenians continued the war under the command of Antiphrilus, and even defeated

¹⁹ Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1, 2.

²⁰ Plutarch in Phocione.

and killed Leonnatus, who had marched to the assistance of Antipater. But here ended their good fortune. Antipater contrived to get out of Lamia; and Craterus, who had charge of conducting the Macedonian veterans back to Europe, at the time of Alexander's death, having received advice in Cilicia of the difficulties of Antipater, hastened to his assistance, and, joining forces with him, advanced to Cranon, a town in Thessaly, attacked the Greeks, and worsted them. What the unprosperous issue of this battle begun, the intrigues of Antipater completed. The Grecian confederacy crumbled to pieces, every state making terms for itself, and leaving the Athenians to provide, as they could, for their own security. Having therefore no enemy to oppose them, the Macedonian generals directed their march towards Athens. Arrogant as the Athenians had been when victorious, much more were they depressed by a reverse of fortune. They laid aside all thoughts of defence, and sent deputies to deprecate the wrath of the conquerors; offering to submit to whatever conditions they should be pleased to impose. Demosthenes, and Hyperides another Athenian orator in the same interest, were the first victims demanded. Their faithful and active zeal, in the service of their country, deserved this distinction. The other conditions were not less humiliating: the Democracy was to be abolished; the obnoxious were to forfeit their municipal rights; and the administration was to be lodged in the hands of the rich; Athens was to receive a Macedonian garrison, and to defray the whole expenses of the war. Phocion, who might

B O O K

II.

Sect. I.

and Antipater
victorious.The Atheni-
ans submit to
Antipater,who imposes
rigorous con-
ditions.

B O O K justly claim some merit with Antipater, labored
 II. much to save Athens from the ignominy of a
 Sect. I. Macedonian garrison; but the victor, oppressive
 and relentless in his nature, was not to be softened.
 Plutarch informs us, that by this treaty upwards
 of twelve thousand Athenians were disfranchised,
 most of whom were afterwards removed to
 Thrace, the Siberia of Greece, where they had
 lands assigned to them²¹.

Demosthenes
 flies to Calauria,

Demosthenes, knowing what treatment his strenuous efforts for liberty might expect, had left Athens, upon the approach of Antipater, and fled to Calauria, a small island opposite to Troezene, where he took refuge in a temple of Neptune, to whom the island was particularly sacred: but Antipater having dispatched messengers thither, they beset the temple, and seemed disposed not to pay regard to any sanctuary. In this emergency Demosthenes swallowed poison, which he had provided for the occasion, and expired before the altar of the god.

and dies.

Different accounts of his death.

Such was the catastrophe of Demosthenes, according to general tradition. But Plutarch²² tells us, that Democharis, who attended him in his last moments, affirmed that his sudden death was not by any procurement of his own, but altogether owing to a decay of nature (rendered, probably, more rapid by the anguish, which, in the present situation of affairs, he must have felt for himself and for his country). “A
 “gracious Providence,” said Democharis, “snatched
 “him away from the cruelty of the Macedonians.”

²¹ Diod. Sic. ub. sup. Plutarch in Phocione & Demosthene.

²² In Demosthene.

It deserves notice, that when Athens lost Demosthenes, her spirit for liberty seems to have finally expired; her annals from this period being remarkable for little more than the servile adulation, with which she fawned on the several tyrants that ruled over her. After Antipater, his son Cassander held her in subjection. He was dispossessed by Aridaeus and Polyperchon; and so wretchedly base were the Athenians grown, that, to please their new masters, they condemned to death the excellent Phocion²³, merely because he had been in favor with Cassander and his father. The same degenerated character the Athenians appear to have retained through the various revolutions that followed, the irruption of the Gauls excepted. On that occasion, some portion of their ancient vigor revived; but, the danger over, they soon relapsed. There was no government, however oppressive, to which they did not tamely submit, nor any governor, however profligate, whose great virtues they were not ready to extol; transferring their homage from tyrant to tyrant, during all the vicissitudes of power.

We shall find frequent instances of this servility in the history of the Macedonian princes, with whose affairs those of the Athenians will generally be found connected; their transactions from this time being too inconsiderable to have a particular place assigned to them.

We now pass over to Asia, to view the changes of the Macedonian empire in that quarter from the period of Alexander's death.

²³ Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 5. Plut. in Phocione.

B O O K II.

S E C T I O N II.

C O N T E N T S.

General state of affairs in Asia, from Alexander's death to the battle of Ipsus—Alexander's generals destroy his family—and divide his dominions among themselves—Antigonus, and Demetrius his son, kings of Syria—provoke the other chiefs by their haughty and ambitious claims—are defeated at Ipsus—Antigonus is slain—Demetrius saves himself by flight—is stripped of most of his dominions—endeavours to recover them—in vain—is forced to yield himself a prisoner to Seleucus—dies in confinement—his character—and various fortunes.

B O O K
II.

Sect. 2.

Interested
views of his
successors,
upon Alex-
ander's death.

THE death of Alexander offered a wide field to the ambition of the several commanders who had served under him¹. He had left no son who might fill the throne; the incapacity of his brother Aridaeus was generally admitted; and his last words seemed to open the succession to the pretensions of every claimant. These were flattering circumstances, to men who saw themselves at the head of powerful armies, and invested with the government of the richest provinces of Asia. Many of them too were respectable by their birth, all of them high in military reputation, and possessed of much treasure; and they had for some years moved in a sphere not inferior to that of

¹ See Plutarch in Alexand. Diod. Sic. xviii. 2. & seq. Just. xiii. 1. Pausan. in Atticis.

sovereign princes. Alexander, in his last moments, had delivered his signet to Perdiccas. This tacit appointment (for in that light it was considered by this general and his dependents) served only to mark him out as an object of envy to the rest ; and the most certain means of being frustrated in his claims, had been to avow them. When therefore it was proposed that Aridaeus, and the child to be born of Roxana, in case it proved a son, should share the government, all the competitors, after some contestations of little moment, concurred in the measure ; not from any regard to the memory of their late master, but because the nominal sovereignty of *a fool* and *an infant* left each of them at liberty to pursue the purposes of his ambition. Aridaeus is, from this period, generally known by the name of Philip Aridaeus. The soldiers gave him that appellation, in honor of his father.

B O O K

II.

Sect. 2.

Aridaeus appointed to the sovereignty, together with the child to be born of Roxana design of this appointment.

Perdiccas acted the part of an artful politician. He had at first vigorously opposed the election of Aridaeus ; but, from the moment he found himself unable to prevent it, he affected to appear devoted to his interests, and so effectually insinuated himself into his confidence, that he soon got possession of the power of which that weak prince had but the name ; he even contrived, with Aridaeus's approbation, to destroy the very persons who had appeared most strenuous in promoting his election². With a view to secure the favor of the Macedonian soldiery, who retained a strong affection for the family of Philip, he effected the prince's marriage with Eurydice, the

Artifice of Perdiccas

² Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 1. Just. L. xiii. c. 4.

B O O K grand-daughter of that monarch, though he himself had been the murderer of her mother³.

II.

Sect. 2.

courts the
favor of
Roxana,
whose new-
born son was
now associated
in the
kingdom :
to please her,
murders
Statira :

It soon became necessary to unite his interests with those of Roxana, whose new-born son, Alexander, was associated in the kingdom with Aridaeus; and the favor of this princess was purchased by the most criminal sacrifices to her jealousy and apprehensions. Statira, the daughter of the unfortunate Darius, and wife of Alexander, was put to death, lest a child should be born of her, who might one day dispute the throne with the son of Roxana; and Parysatis, Statira's sister, who had been married to Hephaestion, shared the same fate⁴.

forms the
plan of re-
moving the
great officers
from court,
under pre-
tence of af-
signing them
governments.

Though Perdiccas now possessed the sole administration of affairs, he had still, he thought, much to fear from men who had lately been his fellow-commanders, and who might either supplant him in the royal favor, or raise a party against him in the army. To remove these, therefore, from too near a connexion with the court he caused the several governments and great offices of state to be distributed among them, in the name of the kings. The hereditary kingdom of Macedon, and the countries

³ The mother of Eurydice was called Cynane. She was daughter of king Philip, by a lady of Illyricum, and had been disposed of by him in marriage to Amyntas, who was son to his eldest brother, and consequently had a prior right to the throne of Macedon. This princess was put to death by Perdiccas, on pretence of certain reasons of state; but in fact, to gratify the wishes of Olympias.

⁴ Plutarch in Alexand.

dependent on it, together with all Greece, were assigned to Antipater and Craterus. To Eumenes, Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. Ptolemy had Egypt. Antigonus Phrygia the greater, Lycia, and Pamphylia. Lyfimachus, Thrace and the Chersonese, with all the adjacent countries to the Euxine sea. Seleucus was placed at the head of the royal cavalry. And the others had similar appointments. Perdiccas contented himself with the title of captain of the household-troops, whilst, in fact, under the sanction of the regal authority, all acts of government were performed by him⁵.

B O O K
II.
Sect. 2.

This measure, though politic in appearance, proved in the end the destruction of its author. While he hoped, by placing the generals at a distance from each other, to have an opportunity of crushing those who were most obnoxious to him, he seems to have forgotten, that they were men, who, with great abilities, had ambition equal to his own; and few of them would fail to grasp at a sovereignty, which their present situation put within their reach. Antigonus was one of the first who disclaimed all dependence. Antipater and Craterus prepared to take up arms and Ptolemy had soon established his power in Egypt, in a manner that plainly indicated his aspiring views. Perdiccas determined to begin by attacking this last; and, having left Eumenes to make head against Antipater and Craterus, he together with the kings, directed his march towards Egypt. After repeated attempts, however, it was found impracticable to make impression on the Egyptian frontier; and the soldiers,

finds himself
the dupe of
this measure;

attacks Pto-
lemy,

without suc-
cess;

⁵ Diod. Sic. Just. ub. sup.

B O O K

II.

Sect. 2.

is slain by his
own soldiers.Antipater and
Craterus
defeated by
Eumenes;

Craterus slain.

Art employed
by Eumenes in
the obtaining
this victory.fidelity to
Alexander's
family :

disgusted with ill success, and exasperated by the severe and haughty manners he had assumed mutinied, and assassinated him⁶.

Whilst Perdiccas⁷ was employed in this expedition, Eumenes⁸, who was unalterably true to the interests of Perdiccas, because he believed them to be the interests of the son and brother of his late royal master, had made a vigorous opposition to the party of Antipater and Craterus, and defeated them in two engagements, in one of which Craterus fell.

This last victory was obtained altogether by the artful management of Eumenes. Craterus was so highly beloved by the national troops, that, had the Macedonians on the side of Eumenes found out they were marching against this general, they had probably gone over to his standard. But Eumenes, who was aware of this circumstance, carefully concealed the fact from them; and, when he was to join battle, contrived to oppose with foreigners alone, that part where Craterus commanded. So that the Macedonians had no suspicion of his being in the field, until he was found expiring.

Eumenes, indeed, appears to have been the only one of the servants of Alexander whose integrity was

⁶ OLYMP. CXIV. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 321.

⁷ It is said, that he had at first courted the alliance of Antipater, in order to gain him over to his ambitious views; but that afterwards, through the management of Olympias, who hated Antipater and his family, he had been induced to turn his thoughts to Cleopatra, sister of Alexander the Great, and widow of the king of Epire: Just. L. xiii. c. 6.

⁸ See Plutarch in Eumene.

B O O K

II.

Sect. 2.

without reproach. Though by birth a Thracian, he had been much intrusted by that prince, and had served him with fidelity, both in the army and in the closet. After his death, he continued firmly attached to the princes of his family, whose cause he defended with great bravery to the last.

This honorable conduct availed him little. As the friend of Perdiccas, he had, after the murder of that general, been proclaimed a public enemy. And Antipater having been elected protector of the kingdom in Perdiccas's stead, gave orders to Antigonus to prosecute the war against him.

declared a
public enemy :

Antigonus gladly received orders, which so exactly corresponded with his own views. He immediately prepared to attack Eumenes, and by the treachery of one of his officers, obtained a complete victory over him. Eumenes, nevertheless, had the skill to make this disaster contribute to his glory. He collected the scattered remains of his army; struck off into a road parallel to that by which the enemy were pursuing him; passed by them unperceived; returned to the field of battle; burnt the dead bodies of his soldiers on one pile, and those of his officers on another, covering the ashes of each with a large mount of earth; and then, detaching all his sick and wounded, retired with six hundred⁹ chosen men to Nora, a strong castle on the borders of Cappadocia, in which, with no other provisions but corn, salt, and water, he held out against Antigonus a whole year; and that general found

defeated by
Antigonus :his skilful
retreat to the
castle of Nora
where he
baffles
Antigonus :

⁹ Seven hundred, says Plutarch (in Eumene); six hundred, says Diodorus, xviii. 4.

B O O K himself at last under the necessity of allowing him
 II. honorable terms.

Sect. 2. It was during this siege that he put in practice his
 manner of ex- memorable expedient for keeping his men and horses
 exercising his in proper exercise. He perceived the inconveniences
 men and horses in this castle : they were likely to suffer from confinement ; the
 whole inclosure being only about two furlongs in
 circumference , and most of the ground occupied by
 buildings. He therefore assigned to the men the largest
 room in the fort, about twenty-one feet in length, in
 which they were obliged every day to use the exer-
 cise of walking during a certain portion of time,
 mending their pace gradually, until they went at full
 speed. The horses he secured by strong halters fastened
 to the roof of the stable ; and then raising their heads
 and fore-parts by a pulley, and at the same time
 taking care that they stood firm on their hind-feet, he
 made the grooms excite them with the whip and voice ;
 the horses bounded on their hind-feet , and strained
 to get their fore-feet to the ground, till they were out
 of breath and in a foam ; and after their exercise, they
 had their barley given to them boiled, that they might
 the more easily digest it. By this means he provided
 effectually for the health of the whole garrison , and
 rendered them fit for service whenever an oppor-
 tunity for action should offer. ,

Meanwhile, all was confusion in Macedon. Anti-
 pater was dead , and Polyperchon ¹⁰ who succeeded
 him, contrary to the prudent maxim of his prede-
 cessor, had yielded the reins of government to Olym-

¹⁰ OLYMP. CXV. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 319.

pia^s ¹¹, whose violent and vindictive passions knew no bounds. The wisest measure of her administration seems to have been employing Eumenes. She was fully sensible of his loyalty, and that he was the only trusty servant the royal family had among the Asiatic governors, to oppose to Antigonus, whose power was becoming every day more formidable. Letters accordingly were dispatched, constituting him general for the kings in Asia.

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is appointed
general for the
kings in Asia

He showed himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him. Notwithstanding the superior interest of Antigonus, he took effectual measures for augmenting his forces. By gratifying the avarice or the ambition of the principal officers in the different provinces, he drew many of them over to him. He had even the art to gain the Argyraspidae, a veteran body of Macedonian troops, so named from their silver-shields, who were held in great estimation on account of their gallant achievements in the late wars, and of the distinction or armor with which Alexander had honored them. He particularly avoided affecting any superiority over men, every one of whom thought himself too great to obey: and, at the same time, to preserve order among them, he erected, in consequence of a dream he pretended to have had, a royal pavilion, and in the midst of it a throne, such as Alexander was wont to be seated on, adorned with all the ensigns of regal power, around which the officers, when in council, should take their places indiscriminately, as if Alexander were in person among

strengthens
himself:

his attention
to prevent
jealousies
among his of-
ficers:

¹¹ Plutarch, in Phocione & Eumene.

B O O K II. Sect. 2. them. By this artifice, he put a stop to all disputes, concerning precedence, and suppressed certain jealousies, which were on the point of breaking out into a flame.

Thus, without any resources but those which his own sagacity suggested, he was enabled to keep the field against Antigonus, and in some engagements gained advantages over him.

his followers
are corrupted
by the intri-
gues of
Antigonus;

During three years, an undecisive war was carried on between them. At the end of this period, Antigonus, who had taken much pains to corrupt those who served under Eumenes, and who had intelligence of the dissensions and frequent contests which prevailed among his principal officers, determined to attack him in his winter-quarters. Eumenes was apprized of his intention, and prepared to receive him as he could, with an army seditious, and impatient of control. But Peucestus¹², who commanded the horse, had sold himself to Antigonus: so that although Eumenes, at the head of the infantry, routed the phalanx of the enemy, his cavalry was rendered useless. Antigonus improved the advantage, and, wheeling round the army of Eumenes, fell upon the baggage. When the infantry returned therefore from the field of battle, and saw that they had lost every thing, their wives, their children, the rich plunder they had acquired in the course of the Asiatic wars, they were transported with rage, not only against the enemy, but against Eumenes, in whose service they had sustained so great a loss; and, as if at

they lose their
baggage;

¹² Plutarch in Eumene.

the mercy of Antigonus, they sent to request he would restore to them what he had taken. This was what Antigonus looked for. His answer was, that they should have all they had lost, with the addition of any farther boon they should ask, on condition only of their delivering up Eumenes, "who," said he "is not even a Macedonian, and has been declared a public enemy."

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The Argyraspidae immediately closed with the infamous proposal; they seized their general, pinioned his arms behind him, and prepared to deliver him up in that situation to Antigonus. Eumenes earnestly desired that he might be heard; and, in the most affecting manner represented to the soldiers the folly of their conduct, and the reproach it must bring on them, recapitulating the many watchings and toils he had sustained for their defence and glory; and beseeching them, if his fate was determined, at least to inflict the blow with their own hands, and not commit him to the vengeance of his inveterate enemy. But all was in vain. They conducted him in the manner described to Antigonus's camp, the minority of the army lamenting the fate of their illustrious general. After confining him for some days, Antigonus put him to death¹³.

sell Eumenes
to Antigonus,

who puts him
to death;

It is worthy of notice, that Antigonus afterwards showed particular favor to those who had remained faithful to Eumenes, taking, on the other hand, every opportunity of cutting off the persons who had shared in the treachery. As to the Argyraspidae, he

treats the traitors with abhorrence.

¹³ OLYMP. CXVI. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 315.

BOOK II. Sect. 2. sent their whole body to the extremities of Asia, into the province of Arachofia¹⁴, under pretence of keeping the Barbarian nations in awe; but with private instructions, that they never should be suffered to return to Greece¹⁵.

Aridaeus and Eurydice murdered by Olympias.

Whilst these things were transacting in Asia, Olympias pursued the most sanguine measures in Macedon, and had caused both Philip Aridaeus and his wife Eurydice to be murdered. Aridaeus's death happened some months before that of Eumenes. From that time, the regal dignity and titles had been confined to Alexander, the son of Roxana; but the regency was in the hands of Olympias. We shall have occasion to mention these transactions more fully in the history of Macedonian affairs.

Antigonus supplants the Asiatic governors.

Antigonus had, by the removal of Eumenes, a free career before him; the governors of provinces, who had formerly been hostile to his interests, now made their submission, and even permitted their troops to be incorporated into his army; several of them he, nevertheless, sacrificed afterwards to his suspicions or his resentment. One powerful commander still remained, Seleucus¹⁶, who held the government of Babylon, to which he had been appointed during the administration of Antipater. He was the avowed friend of Antigonus; had rendered him essential services; and seemed to have joy in his success. But Antigonus, in the pride of victory, could not bear that any man

¹⁴ A province of Parthia, near Bactriana.

¹⁵ Plutarch in Eumene. Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 3.

¹⁶ Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 4.

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should hold authority in Asia independent of him. In this spirit he advanced to Babylon, and, notwithstanding the frank and magnificent reception he met with from Seleucus, demanded of him an account of the revenues of his province. To this, Seleucus, who looked on Antigonus only as his equal, replied, that the province of Babylon had been conferred on him by the court of Macedon for his services; and that he could not conceive why such an account was demanded. But immediately after, considering in what manner Antigonus had treated other governors, and how unable he was to resist his power, he with a small party of horse, made his escape from Babylon, and fled to Egypt. Antigonus would have pursued him; but Seleucus had been too expeditious.

Seleucus, governor of Babylon, flies to Egypt.

Accounts of the successes of Antigonus had by this time been spread through all the neighbouring countries; and Ptolemy, finding the report confirmed by Seleucus, engaged Lyfimachus and Cassander to enter into a confederacy with him for their mutual defence, and to endeavour to stop the progress of this enterprising chief. Cassander, though after Antipater's death in great danger from Olympias and her party, from whose violence he was obliged to take refuge in Asia, had now re-established his affairs in Greece.

Confederacy formed against Antigonus.

Antigonus was not intimidated. Instead of waiting till his enemies should attack him, he resolved to begin by assailing them. Entering therefore the provinces of Coelestria and Phoenicia, he reduced a considerable part of them; and, having in the course of this expedition experienced much distress from the want of a fleet, undismayed by the difficulty of the

Antigonus invades Coelestria and Phoenicia, and takes Tyre;

B O O K II. Sect. 2. undertaking, he set about building vessels of his own, and before the end of summer, had fitted out five hundred ships of war. With these he sailed to Tyre, laid siege to it, and took it, after a resistance of several months.

Whilst he was thus employed, Cassander had made a descent on the coasts of the Lower Asia, which obliged Antigonus to hasten thither.

his army defeated at Gaza;

but is soon victorious.

Ptolemy also had advanced from Egypt to Gaza, at the head of a formidable army; and having attacked Demetrius¹⁷, whom his father Antigonus had left to command in his absence, defeated him¹⁸, and forced him to abandon the provinces lately conquered. Demetrius, however, soon wiped off the disgrace of this overthrow by a signal victory obtained over Cilles, one of Ptolemy's generals, in Upper Syria; and, being afterwards joined by Antigonus, recovered Coelestria and Phoenicia. The reduction or the loss of these frontier-provinces seems, from these frequent revolutions, to have been a matter of little consequence; their fate, some few places of strength excepted, depending on the issue of a battle.

Seleucus obtains succours from Ptolemy:

Notwithstanding this turn of affairs in favor of Antigonus, the battle of Gaza proved exceedingly fatal to his interests, as it enabled Ptolemy to grant succours to Seleucus; with which, though inconsiderable, the latter immediately marched to attempt the recovery of Babylon. The success which attended

¹⁷ OLYMP. cxvi. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 313.

¹⁸ Plutarch in Demetrio. Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 6.

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this expedition, gives us a high idea of his resolution, and his abilities for war, as well as of his capacity for government. Not deterred by the superior power of Antigonus, and the numerous parties that might be expected to oppose his progress, with only about thirteen hundred men he penetrated through all that extent of country, which stretches from the coast of Phoenicia to Babylon: the farther he advanced, the more friends he found; and approaching the city, the whole body of the inhabitants came out to meet him, and to welcome his return with joyful acclamations¹⁹. So much had the lenity of his administration, during his former government, endeared him to these Asiatic nations.

returns to
Babylon,

From this time, the fortunes of Seleucus flourished. Soon after his return, he defeated Nicanor, governor of Media; whom he slew in a second engagement; and not only reduced the district of Babylon, but Media also and Susiana, and by degrees many more of the adjacent provinces. Demetrius, indeed, got possession of Babylon again, whilst Seleucus was absent on an expedition into Media, yet he found it impossible to hold it. And neither his father nor he could ever afterwards dispossess Seleucus of that government.

and retains
possession of it.

The war between Antigonus and the confederates continued, however, to rage through most of the countries under the Macedonian empire. In one part of Greece, the Aetolians and Epirots, either in league with Antigonus, or encouraged by his

The war rages
throughout
Greece and
Asia.

¹⁹ OLYMP. cxvii. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 311.

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The ability
with which
Antigonus
opposed his
various ene-
mies.

Obstructions
in the way of
peace.

intrigues, were up in arms. In the other parts of it, his creatures and emissaries were busy in ruining the power of Cassander. Under pretence of supporting the cause of liberty, they excited disaffection and revolt; and prepared the way, upon the first opportunity, for a total revolution. Ptolemy had carried the war into the Lower Asia, where he had made considerable conquests. At the same time his fleets were employed in reducing such of the Aegean islands as were in the interest of Antigonus; whilst the provinces that lay on the Hellespont and the Bosphorus were exposed to the depredations of Lyfimachus and Cassander; the one from Macedon, the other from Thrace, committing repeated ravages. These several enemies Antigonus opposed with a vigor that might almost be deemed incredible. Notwithstanding the extent of the scene of operations, he attended to every part; he was aware of every danger. Defeated in one attempt, he immediately formed a new enterprise; and whatever he lost in one engagement, he generally soon recovered in another.

In the mean time, a cessation of hostilities was frequently proposed, and terms of accommodation seemed often to be nearly agreed upon; but these treaties either were not concluded, or were of short continuance. It were superfluous to mention them particularly. There is indeed reason to believe, that the overtures of peace were nothing more than mere political semblances, and arts to gain time. A deep-rooted jealousy possessed every one of these ambitious princes, which was not to be removed but by the extermination of their rivals.

It is observed by historians, that, when these chiefs were negotiating any treaty of peace, mention was always made that the several provinces, to which they laid claim, were only to be held in trust for the young king Alexander. But even this thin veil to their ambitious views was soon to drop: for it became difficult for them longer to pretend regard for a royal family, whose blood they were shedding in every place without remorse. Olympias, Alexander's mother, had been some time before this period murdered by Cassander²⁰; Cleopatra²¹, his sister, had lately been destroyed by Antigonus²². The young king himself, whose name they affected to use in their public acts, was not considered as such by any of them. It was well known that Cassander, as soon as he had possessed himself of Macedon, had imprisoned Roxana and her son; not suffering the young prince to retain even the pageantry of royalty, but commanding that he should thenceforth be treated as a private person. It was easy to conjecture, what Cassander's farther intentions were. And accordingly, in a short time, both the king and his mother

Falshood of
the several
chiefs.

²⁰ Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 3. Just. L. xiv. c. 6.

²¹ Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 2.

²² We have mentioned her already. She resided at Sardis, where Antigonus had her strictly observed. But finding, or pretending to have found, that she meant to escape to Ptolemy, who had at this time invaded the Lower Asia, he caused her to be put to death; though afterwards he endeavoured to cast the odium of this execution on those, who had been only the ministers of his orders; and he honored her remains with a sumptuous funeral.

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were put to death by his directions ²³. About two years after his death, Hercules, the son of Alexander by Barsine, the daughter of Artabazus, the only remaining prince of the royal line of Macedon, was, at the instigation of Cassander also, murdered in a like perfidious manner ²⁴.

Demetrius
defeats the
Egyptian
fleet, and
takes Cyprus.

Antigonus
and Deme-
trius saluted
kings.

Seleucus and
Lyfimachus
assume also
the regal
title.

It was high time, therefore, to throw off a disguise, which it was now ridiculous to use. Antigonus led the way. His son Demetrius had made a powerful impression on Greece, and taken Athens. From thence he had passed over to Cyprus, and had reduced the whole island; he had also beaten the Egyptian fleet commanded by Ptolemy; a victory the more splendid, as the Egyptians were then esteemed one of the first nations of the world, for skill in naval affairs. When tidings therefore were brought to Antigonus, that Ptolemy was defeated, and Cyprus taken, the old man was so much elated that he immediately gave orders that he and his son should be saluted kings of Syria ²⁵.

The example was soon followed by Seleucus and Lyfimachus. Ptolemy for the present declined the honors of royalty, which his subjects pressed him to accept. Mortified by his late defeat, he chose to wait till he could be exalted to the rank of king with more splendor. Cassander also affected not to assume the regal title himself, though he was not displeased that others should use it in their addresses to him.

²³ OLYMP. cxvii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 310.

²⁴ Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 2.

²⁵ OLYMP. cxviii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 306.

The royal diadem did not inspire Demetrius and his father with moderate views. They now talked of nothing less than annexing to Syria whatever kingdoms Alexander had lately held, and actually prepared for the conquest of Egypt. Antigonus put himself at the head of the land-forces, and Demetrius commanded the fleet. They found, however, that their mighty purposes were not to be easily effected. On the Phoenician coast they met with a storm, which destroyed or disabled most of their ships. Their land-troops had not better success. From Gaza to Egypt they were to pass through deserts. After a painful march of ten days, and after contending with all the dispiriting circumstances of that hot and sultry climate, they at length reached the Egyptian frontier; there they found new and greater difficulties; their fleet was miserably shattered; the entrances into Egypt were effectually shut against them; even the mouths of the Nile were secured, and the whole coast lined with troops, disposed in the most judicious manner. Ptolemy besides had a strong naval force at sea, and an army of observation on land; and had spread disaffection and distrust among the Syrians, by offering large rewards to all who should come over to him.

Antigonus soon perceived his perilous situation, and hastened back with the remainder of his fleet and army as expeditiously as he could.

It was on this occasion that Ptolemy, who now accounted himself firmly established on the throne of Egypt, permitted the title of king²⁶,

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Antigonus and
Demetrius
prepare to
invade Egypt.

Ptolemy ac-
cepts the regal
title.

²⁶ OLYMP. CXVIII. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 304.

B O O K which he had hitherto refused, to be given to him²⁷.

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Demetrius
lays siege to
Rhodes,

To restore reputation to his arms, which had suffered much disgrace in the late expedition. Antigonus judged it necessary that some signal enterprize should immediately be attempted. It was accordingly determined, that Demetrius should undertake the conquest of Rhodes. The Rhodians were a people famed for their prowess and naval skill; and from their extensive commerce, as well as from the fertility of their soil, they derived great opulence. Such a conquest, therefore, bringing with it an equal accession of wealth and power, could not fail to render Syria more formidable than ever. The Rhodians had distinguished themselves by the part they had lately taken in favor of Ptolemy; so that there was a pretence of injuries, for which satisfaction might be demanded.

Demetrius having made the necessary preparations, landed on the island, and laid siege to the capital city.

²⁷ Diodorus Siculus (xx. 3.) and Plutarch (in Demetrio) suppose Ptolemy to have taken the title of king two years before this, at the same time with Antigonus; and Plutarch tells us, that the Egyptians prevailed on him to assume it upon his return from Cyprus, "that he might not appear dispirited with his late defeat." But from Ptolemy's Chronological Canon it is evident, that his reign is only to be computed from this date (the 4th year of the 118th Olympiad) when he was now firmly settled on the throne, nineteen years after Alexander's death. Probably, the affectionate attachment of the Egyptians to this prince might have prompted them to give him the title at the time Diodorus and Plutarch mention; but Ptolemy himself was unwilling to assume it, until this dispersion of his enemies relieved him from all farther apprehensions.

Of all the princes of his time, Demetrius is said to have been the first in military abilities, he was particularly expert in the conduct of sieges, and had himself contrived a number of machines of singular construction, and of amazing efficacy; on which account he got the name of Poliorcetes, *the stormer of cities*. All his skill seems to have been employed on this occasion; but, by the indefatigable perseverance and valor of the Rhodians, by the advantages they derived from their numerous fleets, and by the large supplies of men and stores of every kind furnished by most of the Grecian states, but principally by Ptolemy, who exerted himself remarkably in their behalf, he was baffled in every attempt.

What discouraged him most, was the failure of his Helepolis, or *City-taker*; a machine so called from it's powerful operation. It is described as a moveable tower, framed of timber exceedingly strong, and girt with plates of iron; of a height sufficient to command the walls of the besieged city, and lessening gradually, so that the top was much narrower than the base; the inside was divided into floors open towards the enemy, each of which was filled with combatants, and a number of machines for the discharge of various kinds of missive weapons; it was covered principally with raw hides, and on the top was a layer of mud, that the enemy might not have it in their power to set it on fire. It moved on wheels, or rather casters, by means of which its operations could be varied with less difficulty.

Demetrius had prepared one of these engines, the most formidable, say historians, that had ever been

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is disap-
pointed in
their effects;raises the
siege, and
makes peace
with the
Rhodians.The gratitude
of the Rho-
dians to
Ptolemy.

seen. We may judge of its weight, and the force with which it was impelled, from the number of men employed to move it. They amounted, Diodorus²⁸ tells us, to three thousand four hundred of the strongest that could be found. A Rhodian undertook to render this vast machine useless. Unobserved by the enemy, he contrived to undermine the ground over which it was to pass; and the Helepolis having sunk into the earth, could never, from its enormous weight, be raised again²⁹. The siege had now lasted a whole year, and the vigor of the besieged had not in the least degree abated. Such unexpected resistance disposed Demetrius to yield to the solicitations of the states of Greece, who had all been earnest in their mediation in favor of the Rhodians: and the affairs of that country also afforded him a plausible pretence for abandoning his present enterprise. Urgent representations had been made to him of the oppressions of Cassander, and of the distressed state of Athens, which was in danger of falling into his hands; Demetrius resolved to attempt the relief of that city, and concluded a treaty of peace with the people of Rhodes. His engines of war he also presented them with; the value of which was so considerable, that from the sale of them they were enabled to raise their famed Colossus, or brazen statue of the sun, which, from its extraordinary size, has been ranked among the wonders of the world.

It was on account of the important services per-

²⁸ Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 5.

²⁹ Vegetius de re militari.

formed by Ptolemy to the Rhodians during this siege, B O O K
that they gave him the name of Soter, the *Deliverer*, 11.
by which he is known in history. They also erected Sect. 2.
a number of statues to him; and, in the excess of
their gratitude, are said to have even paid him divine
honors³⁰.

The siege of Rhodes has been also rendered me- The painter
morable by a circumstance related of Protogenes, Protogenes.
one of the most eminent painters of Greece. He was
at this time employed in painting his Jalyfus (a fabu-
lous hero, said to be the founder of the Rhodian
people) a piece esteemed one of the wonders of
antiquity. His house was in the suburbs; and, as if
insensible of the din of war, he calmly continued his
work whilst Demetrius's troops were carrying on
their operations on every side of him. Demetrius,
amazed at his apparent intrepidity, asked him why
he did not, like others, retire to a place of greater
safety; "Princes like you," replied the painter,
"never war against the arts." The prince, who
was himself a person of high accomplishments, and
naturally generous, was so well pleased with the
answer, that he appointed a guard for his protection.

One of the most admired figures in this piece was
a dog, which had cost the painter immense labor,
without his being able to express the idea he had
conceived. He meant to represent the animal in a

³⁰ They sent, Diodorus says (xx. 5.) to inquire of the
oracle of Hammon, whether they should worship Ptolemy as a
god. In the present situation of affairs, we may easily judge
what the oracle pronounced. And accordingly a grove encom-
passed with a stately gallery was consecrated to him.

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panting attitude, foaming, so that the foam should appear actually to issue from his mouth. After retouching it frequently, and still without success, he at last, in the rage of disappointment, darted at the picture the sponge, with which he used to wipe off his colors; and “chance,” says Pliny³¹, “accomplished what art had not the power to perform.” In the same piece was also represented a thrush on the top of a column, so admirably well executed, that, when the picture was exposed to public view, certain bird-catchers with thrushes, having stopt to admire it, the birds, mistaking the painted bird for a real one, began to sing to it.

When Apelles³² saw this picture, he was so transported, it is said, with admiration, that his speech failed him; and upon recovering from his astonishment, he exclaimed, “prodigious work!” “wonderful performance! — however,” added he, “it has not all the graces the world admires in my works.” If the anecdote is true, this last observation, apparently the language of envy, proves, perhaps more strongly than the most lavish praises, the extraordinary merit of the piece.

Demetrius
forces Cassander to raise
the siege of
Athens;

Demetrius's expedition into Greece was attended with better success than he had of late met with. Cassander had invested Athens; Demetrius forced him to raise the siege, and, taking advantage of the broken condition of his army, pressed him with such vigor, that he was under the necessity of aban-

³¹ L. xxxvii. c. 10.

³² Plutarch in Demetrio.

doing all he held to the southward of Theffaly, and of withdrawing his troops into Macedon. Even his retreat he effected with difficulty³³; Demetrius having attacked him in his march, and obliged him to consult his safety by a precipitate flight.

The reduction of the greater part of Greece immediately followed; not only the several cities from the straits of Thermopylae to the isthmus of Corinth, but also most of those of Peloponnesus, submitted to Demetrius; the Macedonian garrisons having evacuated all the places of which they were in possession. He now saw his power exceedingly augmented, while at the same time he enjoyed the glory of being considered as the *restorer of the liberties of an oppressed people*. And, that no honors might be wanting, the solemn convention of the Grecian states at the isthmus proclaimed him general of all Greece, as Philip and Alexander had formerly been.

This flow of prosperity, historians observe, proved the ruin of Demetrius. He had now no enemy near him. And, naturally disposed to the pursuit of pleasure, he was but too much encouraged to it by the effeminate manners of the Greeks; who, on their part, to testify their gratitude to their protector, sought every opportunity of administering to his amusement and gratification. The Athenian orators, in particular, contributed much to corrupt his mind. They offered him the most fulsome adulations. They made him almost forget he was a man³⁴.

³³ Plut. in Demetrio. Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 5.

³⁴ Plut. ub. sup. See more at large the excessive flatteries of the Athenians to Demetrius, in Book iii. Sect. 1. of this work.

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reduces all
Greece.

receives high
honors from
the Grecian
states;

becomes vo-
luptuous and
vain.

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Insolence of
Antigonus.

This change of fortune had likewise it's influence on Antigonus, and greatly increased the arrogance which had always marked his character. He scrupled not even to avow his hopes of establishing his power on the ruins of that of all the other princes. And, instead of taking this opportunity of concluding an advantageous peace with Cassander, who condescended to ask it in the most suppliant language, he required him to submit at discretion, and to leave the kingdom of Macedon entirely at his disposal.

The alliance
of the other
kings against
Antigonus and
his son.

Cassander applied to the confederate princes; and they, willing to humble a pride from which they themselves had much to fear, resolved to employ their most vigorous efforts against Antigonus and his son, and, if possible, to try the issue of a general engagement. Accordingly Seleucus began to move from Babylon, as did Lyfimachus from Thrace; and these princes, having received considerable reinforcements both from Macedon and from Egypt, advanced, after some operations of little importance, into the provinces of Phrygia, where Antigonus and Demetrius were preparing to meet them. Near to Ipsus, an inconsiderable town in this province, the battle was fought, which terminated the empire and life of Antigonus³⁵. The Syrians were totally defeated, and Demetrius made his escape with only nine thousand men, out of above eighty thousand, of which his army had consisted. The victory is said to have been obtained chiefly by the superior address of Seleucus, who took advantage of Deme-

Battle of Ipsus.

³⁵ OLYMP. CXX. I. BEFORE CHRIST 299.

trius's warmth, in pursuing too far a body of the enemy, which he had broken.

Antigonus was aged eighty-four years when he fell. He appears to have been a prince of great personal courage and abilities in war; but of a spirit exceedingly haughty and imperious. Less ambitious, and more moderate in the use of power, he might have ended his days in the peaceable possession of a rich and mighty kingdom.

What were the latter fortunes of Demetrius, is an inquiry that belongs not to this place. As they are, however, much connected with the preceding narrative, it will not be improper to bring them together into one view.

With the slender remains of his army he retired to the sea-coast, in order to pass over to Athens, where his principal dependence was. He now found how hollow are the professions of flattery. The Athenians, who had been extravagant in their praises, when he was attended with victory, refused even to receive him into their city, under pretext of some late edict, by which they were forbidden to admit a crowned head within their walls³⁶. But this was not the time for revenge: having, therefore, obtained from them his gallies, together with his queen and royal retinue, which he had left behind him when he went last to Asia; and having visited certain places in Peloponnesus, in which he still had garrisons; he sailed to the coast of Thrace, where, to wreak his vengeance on Lyfimachus, he made

³⁶ Plutarch in Demetrio.

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Antigonus is
slain.

Fortunes of
Demetrius:

is refused ad-
mittance into
Athens;

B O O K descents on several parts, and committed great
II. devastation.

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marries his
daughter
Stratonice to
Seleucus;

plunders the
castle of Cu-
inda,

and possesses
himself of
Cilicia;

reduces
Athens;

Whilst he was in this wandering condition, Seleucus, who had heard much of his daughter Stratonice, reputed the most beautiful woman of her time, sent to demand her in marriage. Amazed at this turn of fortune in his favor, Demetrius failed not to avail himself of it, and immediately shaped his course towards Syria with the princess. On his way, having landed in Cilicia for some refreshments, and finding the opportunity favorable, he plundered the castle of Cuinda³⁷, which had formerly belonged to Antigonus, but was now the property of Plitarchus, brother to Cassander, the confederate princes having bestowed it on him, together with the whole province. He then pursued his voyage, and delivered his daughter to Seleucus; who celebrated his nuptials in the most splendid manner, and entertained his new father-in-law with much show of regard and confidence, having even prevailed on Ptolemy to give him his daughter Ptolemais in marriage. On his return, Demetrius determined to make a second descent in Cilicia; and finding it without defence, got entire possession of that province. Seleucus interposed, and threatened; but Demetrius would not resign so valuable an acquisition.

He was now, he imagined, strong enough to revenge himself on the Athenians. Passing over, therefore, into Greece, he laid close siege to Athens, and reduced it to such extremity, that a *modius* of

³⁷ See Strab. (Casaub.) L. xiv. p. 462.

wheat (about a peck) was sold for three hundred drachms¹⁸. Lachares, a turbulent demagogue, had, under the assumed character of *champion of the people*, invaded the administration, and directed all public measures with absolute sway; and to him were owing the present counsels. Reduced by famine, the Athenians were at last obliged to surrender at discretion; and, Lachares having saved himself by flight, Demetrius accepted their submission, and, far from punishing them for their ingratitude, presented them with a hundred thousand measures of wheat, requiring only, that they should receive a garrison into their city. Plutarch¹⁹ relates, on this occasion, a whimsical circumstance, which strongly marks the turn of genius both of Demetrius and of the Athenian people. Upon his entering Athens, he had ordered them to repair to the theatre, and after keeping them for some time in expectation of their fate, he on a sudden made his appearance on the stage, descending from above, in the manner of the players, when representing the Pagan divinities; he began to harangue them, not with anger, but in a set speech, filled with soothing expostulations and flowers of oratory, in which he was fond of being thought to excel. In the midst of his harangue, an Athenian starting up, informed him, that the phrase he had just made use of, was incompatible with the purity of the Attic language: "I give you fifty thousand measures of wheat more," cried Deme-

B O O K

II.

Sect. 2.

his generosity,

and frivolous
manners:¹⁸ £. 8. 11 s. 10½ d.¹⁹ In Apopthegm.

B O O K trius, "in acknowledgment of the improvement
II. "I have received from that Athenian's friendly
Sect. 2. "information."

he attacks
 and defeats
 the Spartans;

From Athens he marched into Peloponnesus, with a view to make himself master also of Sparta; and the Spartans, led on by their king Archidamus, having advanced to oppose him, he attacked them, and obtained a complete victory.

stripped of all
 he held in
 Asia;

The consequence might have proved fatal to Lacedaemon. But as the victor was preparing to pursue this success, his affairs suddenly took a different turn. He received advice that Seleucus and Lyfimachus had dispossessed him of all he held in Asia⁴⁰; and that Ptolemy had invaded Cyprus, and reduced the whole island, Salamis excepted, which he was then besieging. Probably the progress of Demetrius in Greece had awakened the apprehensions of these princes.

finds himself
 in distress;

Discouraged by this unexpected reverse, he had given up all for lost, when a new and unlooked for prospect opened to him.

is invited to
 march into
 Macedon,

Cassander king of Macedon was dead⁴¹, and his two sons, Antipater and Alexander, had each laid claim to the kingdom. The former was supported by Lyfimachus, whose daughter he had married; and the latter applied to Demetrius, who hastened to his assistance. But having, in the mean time, obtained

⁴⁰ Seleucus, as appears from Plutarch (in Demet.) had offered him a sum of money for Cilicia; and, upon his refusal, had insisted on having Tyre and Sidon given up to him.

⁴¹ Just. L. xvi. c. 1, 2, 3. Plutarch in Demetrio.

succours from Pyrrhus, Alexander would have declined the interposition of Demetrius, of whom he began to entertain suspicions; and, finding himself under considerable embarrassment on that score, intended to get rid of him by violent means. So, at least, Demetrius wished to have it understood; for, under color of this conviction, he caused Alexander to be assassinated at an entertainment to which he had invited him: and, having then laid before the Macedonians the perfidious intentions of Alexander, and the just claim he himself had to the crown in right of his wife Phylla, daughter to Antipater, he contrived to gain a party over to his interests, and got possession of the kingdom.

B O O K
 II.

Sect. 2.

and gets pos-
 session of the
 kingdom;

He might have held the sceptre of Macedon many years, had the experience of misfortunes taught him wisdom. But, instead of endeavouring to repair the waste and devastation which this unhappy kingdom had suffered from constant wars, as soon as he was seated on the throne, he immediately engaged in new military operations on the side of Greece, on the side of Aetolia, on the side of Epire, on the side of Thrace. And, at the same time, by his profuse luxury, his vanity, and haughtiness, it seemed as if he industriously sought to render his government odious. In his dress he affected an excess of magnificence nearly theatrical, such as no prince who reigned after him was ever vain enough to imitate⁴². His court was a continued scene of dissipation and riot; and, though of free access to the ministers of

⁴² Plutarch in Demetrio.

B O O K

II.

Sect. 2.

his pleasures, he scarcely would suffer any other of his subjects, or even the ministers of foreign states, to approach him. As if this folly had been too little, either, from a restless ambition, or, as some writers say, that the Macedonians might not have leisure to form designs against him, he maintained formidable armaments both by sea and land, to recover, he pretended, the dominions which his father and himself had formerly possessed in Asia.

loses it again;

Alarmed at these preparations, and probably solicited by the Macedonians themselves, Ptolemy and Lyfimachus determined to prevent him: the former sailed with a powerful fleet to invade Greece by sea, the latter entered Macedon on the side of Thrace; whilst Pyrrhus, whom they had engaged in their alliance, advanced from Epirus. Never was Demetrius in a more critical situation: he was encompassed by enemies; and the Macedonians, to a man, disaffected, were on the point of declaring against him. He saw no resource left, but to save himself by flight. Having accordingly put on the habit of a private soldier, he, under that disguise, quitted the camp, and escaped to Cassandria *.

escapes
in disguise
to Cassan-
dria;

again at-
tempts
Athens;

He had still hopes that he should find the Athenians faithful to him; but those days, when misfortunes were a recommendation at Athens, were long since passed. Olympiodorus, now the popular leader, persuaded the citizens to avail themselves of the opportunity of shaking off a yoke that disgraced

* Subdued by this overthrow of all her hopes, his wife Phylla, in a fit of despair, poisoned herself. — Plut. in Demetrio.

them;

them; and it was resolved that their gates should be shut against him. Demetrius would have had recourse to vindictive measures; but the interposition of the philosopher Crates⁴⁴, according to some historians, or, which is more likely, the want of means, induced him to desist.

B O O K

II.

Sect. 2.

is refused
admittance;

Notwithstanding all these humiliating events, the spirit of enterprise had not yet forsaken Demetrius. After making what provision he could for the security of the few places he still held in Greece, he planned a new expedition, purposing nothing less than to recover the provinces of Lydia and Caria from Lyfimachus. The whole force he could muster, when he left Europe, amounted only to eleven thousand men, all of them, like their leader, of desperate fortunes, and ripe for any adventure. This plan proved as unsuccessful as it was rashly formed. Agathocles, son to Lyfimachus, was prepared to receive him at the head of a superior army; an advantage which he improved with great ability, carefully avoiding a general engagement, but wasting the small force Demetrius had brought with him, by frequent skirmishes, by constant harassing, by depriving them of subsistence: so that at length, after shifting his quarters from place to place, and having seen the greatest part of his troops consumed by fatigue and famine, he was forced to retreat to Tarsus in Cilicia, which now belonged to Seleucus, from whence he sent to his son-in-law, entreating his compassion in the most humiliating terms.

plans a new
expedition
into Asia;is involved in
great diffi-
culties;

⁴⁴ Plut. in Demetrio.

B O O K

II.

Sect. 2.

is under the
necessity of
surrendering
to Seleucus :

Seleucus was disposed to afford him shelter in his dominions, and to supply both him and his troops with necessaries; but his ministers opposed it. They represented the many dangers to be apprehended from a prince like Demetrius, ambitious, experienced, active, fertile in resources, and not to be subdued by misfortunes. Seleucus at last yielded to their remonstrances, and marched against him. In this situation Demetrius is said to have done all that valor and military skill could perform. But overpowered, and having no expedient left, he found himself under the necessity of surrendering to Seleucus.

ends his days
in confinement ;

Seleucus was once more inclined to have acted nobly towards him. He had even thoughts of bringing him to his court, and of entertaining him there in royal splendor. But his ministers would not permit it; and at last obtained of the king, that he should be sent under a strong guard to a place of safety in the Syrian Chersonesus. Seleucus, however, took care, that he should have every indulgence, that could render his captivity less irksome; the use of a spacious park; a number of fine horses; a princely table; with whatever other amusements he appeared to desire. But what are these without liberty? He lived about three years in this state of confinement; and died at last of a distemper, brought on partly by the reflections which his melancholy situation must have suggested to him, and partly by excess in wine, to which he had recourse in order to drown recollection.

From what Plutarch ⁴⁵ relates, there is reason to

⁴⁵ Ubi supra. See his directions at length in Plutarch.

believe, that during his captivity he recovered, in a great measure, that excellent understanding which he had received from nature. The manner in which he wrote to his son Antigonus, speaks him a better father and a wiser prince than from his former conduct we should be apt to think him. He recommended it to him, “ to attend especially to the preservation
“ of the places he still occupied in Greece, and not
“ to yield up the possession of any of them to any
“ person, or on any pretence whatever ; but to look
“ upon him as dead, and, from that day, not to
“ give credit to any letter or order that should come
“ from him, though written with his own hand,
“ and sealed with his own signet.”

Antigonus, to his honor, employed every solici-
tation in his power to obtain his father's liberty,
conjuring the other kings to interpose in his behalf,
and offering to give up all his possessions, and even
his own person as a security. But no terms could be
accepted. Demetrius was still too formidable.
Lyfimachus, it is said, offered a vast sum, on con-
dition he should be put to death ; a proposal which
Seleucus rejected with indignation “.

noble con-
duct of Anti-
gonus.

Had not Demetrius suffered the blandishments of
pleasure to prevail over him, he had been the first
of all the princes of his time. Possessed by nature of
uncommon powers of mind, he had improved them
highly by cultivation. He had, at the same time,

Character of
Demetrius ;

“ Demetrius is supposed to have died the third year of the
123d Olympiad, or 284 years before Christ ; so that fifteen
years elapsed between the battle of Ipsus and his death.

B O O K

II.

Sect. 2.

beauty of his
person;accomplish-
ment;

versatility;

attachment
to his father;generosity in
behalf of
Eumenes,and Mithri-
dates.

all the advantages that external grace and elegance of form can bestow; and so inimitably beautiful was his countenance, if Plutarch may be believed, that neither painter nor statuary could ever execute an exact portrait of him; “the animated air of youth” being blended in him, with the awful majesty of “the hero and the king.” In his behaviour, the same happy association appeared. In his hours of leisure, he was a most agreeable and captivating companion; in his entertainments, the most sumptuous of princes; yet, when business called, hardly to be equalled in activity and application. In addition to all this, he was brave; of consummate skill in military affairs; and, until corrupted by prosperity and adulation, humane and generous. His affectionate and dutiful attention to his father, in the midst of all his dissipation, has been also justly celebrated by every writer that has mentioned him.

Two remarkable instances of his generosity of spirit have been transmitted to us by history. He employed his utmost endeavours to save the life of Eumenes⁴⁷; and probably would have succeeded, had not his father’s ministers impressed him with gloomy apprehensions of what that gallant chief might afterwards attempt against him. The life of Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes, he actually saved⁴⁸. This Mithridates was a young Asiatic nobleman of unblemished manners, and the constant companion of Demetrius. But Antigonus had con-

⁴⁷ Plut. in Eumene.⁴⁸ Plut. in Demetrio.

ceived a jealousy of him. He dreamed, that he had entered a fair and spacious field, and sowed it with filings of gold, from which in a short time there had arisen a golden crop; but that, soon after, returning to visit it, he found it cut down, and heard the people say, that Mithridates had reaped the golden harvest, and had carried it off towards the Euxine sea.

Disturbed at this dream, he communicated it to Demetrius, with his resolution of destroying Mithridates; binding, at the same time, his son by an oath, that he should not speak to him either of the dream or of its consequences. The ensuing day Mithridates came as usual to attend the prince in his amusements; when, taking an opportunity of drawing him aside, Demetrius with the point of his spear wrote on the ground, "Fly, Mithridates." He fled accordingly that night into Cappadocia; and fate soon accomplished for Mithridates the thing which Antigonus had dreaded; for he conquered a rich and extensive country, and founded the family of the Pontic kings, which continued through eight successions, until it was at last destroyed by the Romans⁴⁹.

⁴⁹ Beside a number of children by other wives and concubines, Demetrius left by Phylla, daughter of Antipater, and widow of Craterus, a son named Antigonus, afterwards king of Macedon, and the famed Stratonice: and by Ptolemais, an other son, called Demetrius, of whom we shall have occasion to make mention hereafter.

H I S T O R Y O F G R E E C E.

B O O K III.

S E C T I O N I.

C O N T E N T S.

View of the domestic state of the kingdom of Macedon, under the administration of Antipater — Polyperchon — Cassander — and Demetrius Poliorcetes — misfortunes — and final overthrow of Alexander's whole family.

B O O K
III.

Sect. I.

Effects of
Alexander's
reign to Ma-
cedon.

THE reign of Alexander, though accounted the aera of glory for the Macedonian people, was far from advancing the internal happiness and prosperity of their country. A nation deprived of the presence of their sovereign, at a season of life when his activity and vigor of mind might have been of important benefit; exhausted;¹ of their most valuable citizens to

¹ It appears from Diod. Sic. xviii. 1. that when Antipater marched against Leosthenes, it was not possible for him to muster more than thirteen thousand foot and six hundred horse. *Such*, says the historian, *was the scarcity of soldiers in Macedon, in consequence of the frequent draughts to recruit the armies in Asia.*

repair the waste of distant wars; and distracted by that conflict of factions, to which a delegated government is generally exposed; must ever find much real cause, amidst all the fascinating glare of conquest, to lament the boundless ambition of their prince. Such was Macedon during this boasted period. Whilst the treasures, which poured in from every part of Asia, proved no compensation for those accumulated evils, they corrupted the simplicity of the Macedonian manners. And this hardy people, who, under the pressure of poverty, and the disadvantages of a rough and confined territory, had preserved their independence, now sunk into luxury, debility, and servitude.

Antipater, whom Alexander had appointed to the administration of Macedonian affairs, appears to have been well qualified for the station his master had assigned to him. He was to restrain within their limits those fierce borderers, by whom a considerable part of Macedon was surrounded: he was to observe the motions, and counteract the designs, of the several commonwealths of Greece, who entertained an avowed jealousy of Alexander, and were prepared to seize the first opportunity of re-asserting their ancient liberties: he was to introduce at home a more absolute government, and bend the Macedonians to a subjection hitherto unknown to them. At the same time, he had to support himself against the intrigues of some of the principal of the Macedonian nobles, who beheld with jealousy and indignation a man, lately their equal, now exalted above them; and who were encouraged in their disaffection by the

Antipater's
character as
a minister.

B O O K countenance and artifices of Olympias, the king's
 III. mother, a woman of violent temper, fond of power,
 Sect. 1. and therefore impatient of the control which Antipater's authority imposed upon her.

his capacity; Antipater possessed all the qualifications requisite for these various purposes. To great military abilities he joined the subtilty and reserve of the statesman; he was vigilant, vigorous, and steady; with a firm hand he held the reins of government, notwithstanding Olympias's repeated attempts to wrest them from him; he suppressed every commotion; he baffled every confederacy; the turbulence of the Macedonians he awed; the Greeks he humbled; he was implacable when provoked; and sanguinary in gratifying his resentments. His treatment of the two Athenian orators, Demosthenes and Hyperides, proves how dangerous it was to offend him. It is affirmed, that he caused the tongue of the latter to be cut out, in revenge for the invectives it had uttered against him.

and oppress- If we consider him as the confidential servant of a
 sion: prince, whose object was the subversion of all liberty, he was an useful minister; if as the magistrate of a free state, who was bound to pay regard to the rights of mankind, he was a tyrannical and merciless oppressor. Accordingly, both these characters he bears in history, agreeably to the different principles of the several writers by whom he is mentioned.

was to have He was to have been removed, had Alexander
 been dis- survived. It is thought, that the intrigues of
 placed. Olympias, and her faction, had at length prevailed, and that his prince began to suspect him of views

inconsistent with the duty of a subject. Perhaps his expressing too freely his sentiments concerning the execution of Parmenio had reached the king. For upon hearing the fate of that gallant general, in astonishment he cried out², “if Parmenio has conspired against his master, whom are we to trust? and if he has not, how are we to act?” Words pregnant with so much meaning, had they come to Alexander’s knowledge, would hardly have been forgiven.

When tidings of Alexander’s death reached Greece, most of it’s states, as we have seen, rose up in arms. Antipater was not disconcerted. Precarious as his situation was on the side of Macedon, and with numbers far inferior to the enemy, he met them in battle, and, though worsted, had the art to collect together the broken remains of his army, and to possess himself of Lamia in Theffaly, a place capable of defence. Leonnatus, one of Alexander’s captains, advanced to his assistance, and was defeated and slain. This incident, however disastrous in appearance, Antipater improved likewise to his advantage. The death of Leonnatus had delivered him from a rival, of whom he was jealous; he found means to escape from Lamia, whilst the Greeks were engaged with Leonnatus, whose troops having been little more than dispersed, he contrived to recover most of them, and to incorporate them into his army, by which he was enabled to look the confederates in the face; whilst Craterus, having in the

His vigorous
opposition to
the Greek
insurgents;

² Plutarch in Apophthegm.

B O O K mean time arrived from Asia, joined him also with
 III. considerable succours. This general was to have
 Sect. I. succeeded him in the government of Macedon: but, as Alexander's appointments had all ceased with his life, Craterus was now contented to share the government with Antipater; who, to attach him more strongly to his interests, gave him his daughter Philla in marriage, one of the most accomplished women of her time. Soon after, was fought the battle of Cranon, which, as has been already observed, proved fatal to Greece, obliging the Athenians to surrender their liberties to the Macedonian leaders, and to receive a garrison from them. The Aetolians, though not less active in promoting the war, obtained peace on easier terms. The bold enterprises of Perdiccas had by this time roused the jealousy of the other commanders; and Antipater hastened to settle the affairs of Greece, in order to be at leisure to oppose that leader in Asia.

is appointed
 to succeed
 Perdiccas;

The succeeding events were not unfavorable to Antipater's fortunes. Craterus having fallen in battle against Eumenes, he found himself again in possession of the whole government of Macedon. And Perdiccas, as we have related, being slain in Egypt, he was appointed regent³, and Philip Aridaeus, and the young king Alexander, were consigned to his protection.

³ Upon the death of Perdiccas, Ptolemy appointed Aridaeus and Python, two of Alexander's captains, to the protectorship; but meeting with a formidable opposition from Eurydice and her friends, they resigned, and the Macedonians chose Antipater. See Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 3.

From this period the power of Antipater over Greece and Macedon was uncontrolled; but this authority in other parts of the empire was little more than nominal.

B O O K
III.
Sect. I.

What seems most extraordinary in Antipater's conduct, is the last act of his life. On his death-bed he named Polyperchon, one of Alexander's captains, but no way distinguished by any particular merit, to succeed him in the government of Macedon, and to the office of protector; to the exclusion of his own son Cassander, whom he only appointed to the post of chiliarch, or captain of a thousand men. It has been said, that Augustus bequeathed the empire to Tiberius, that in the violences of his successor, the Romans might forget the crimes of which he himself had been guilty. A similar suspicion might, with as good reason, be entertained of Antipater; for never man seemed less fitted than Polyperchon for the discharge of this arduous trust. Without vigor; without firmness; mean; cruel; perfidious. A dupe to those who had the art to gain his confidence, he knew not how to render his authority respectable, or to conciliate the affections of men. What considerations could have moved Antipater to this appointment, history does not disclose. Whether he thought that Cassander's impetuous temper was ill suited to the present times; or that, vain and high-spirited, power in his hands might produce his destruction; or whether he had conceived disgust at his son, on account of his private life; are the conjectures of different writers;—but of the truth it is not possible to determine.

B O O K

III.

Sect. I.

with what
view.

What seems, however, most probable, is, that, for some time before Antipater's death, Polyperchon, having entertained hopes of succeeding him, had employed the usual intrigues for accomplishing his ambitious views. This Antipater having discovered, and finding that the strength of Polyperchon's party, aided by the friends of Olympias, would, in opposition to his own views, infallibly prevail in the issue, he chose to have himself the merit of the appointment, in expectation of securing to his family a protector, where they might otherwise have found an enemy. It appears from Diodorus *, that he dreaded the influence which Olympias was likely to obtain under the new administration, and endeavoured to guard against it. His last charge to Polyperchon was, to keep her at a distance from the administration of affairs, which, if she engaged in, her passions would soon throw into confusion.

Polyperchon
adopts new
counsels;

Polyperchon paid little regard either to the instructions of Antipater, or to the obligations he might be supposed to owe to his predecessor, had he considered his appointment as the act of his choice. His first step was to recal Olympias from Epire, whither she had retired. But her enemies were still too formidable, and the minds of men too much exasperated, for her to venture immediately. She deferred accepting the invitation, until she could enjoy a full exertion of power. And it is believed, that whatever measures Polyperchon, from this period, pursued, were in obedience to her directions. He removed

* L. XIX. c. I.

every person who had been in the interests of Antipater, and restored throughout the Greek cities the democratical form of government, which had been abolished. A general confusion, as might be expected, ensued; the popular faction, naturally violent in their resentment, fell almost every where on those who were suspected of being instrumental in their disgrace. At Athens particularly, though the Munychia and Piraeus were still held by Antipater's garrisons, they seized on Phocion, and as many of his friends as they could find, whom they sent to Philip Aridaeus and Polyperchon, to answer for the share they were supposed to have had in the late administration. Polyperchon pronounced their condemnation⁵, and remitted them to Athens, where they were put to death⁶. Phocion has been already mentioned. He was a man of the greatest probity of his time, and had with unwearied endeavours studied the happiness of his country. Probably his integrity made him more obnoxious in the eyes of Polyperchon. Similar distractions prevailed in most of the other cities; and, because the Megalopolitans declared themselves satisfied with the form of government Antipater had established, and refused to change it, Polyperchon marched his army against them.

Meanwhile, Cassander, who saw there was no safety for him in Macedon, fled to Antigonus⁷.

B O O K

III.

Sect. I.

restores democratical government throughout Greece.

Phocion put to death:

Cassander flies to Antigonus;

⁵ OLYMP. CXV. 3. BEFORE CHRIST 316.

⁶ Plutarch in Phocione.

⁷ Diod. Sic. L. xviii. c. 4.

B O O K

III.

Sect. I.

who at this time was employed in prosecuting his plan of empire in Asia. He was received with cordiality and kindness, and Antigonus soon enabled him to return with effectual succours. Affection, nevertheless, had no share in this attention. Antigonus hated Polyperchon; was jealous of the authority he derived from acting under the royal sanction; and was glad of the opportunity of raising enemies against him at home, and of preventing him from interfering in the Asiatic provinces.

receives support, and sails back to Athens;

defeats Polyperchon's fleet;

appoints Demetrius Phalereus governor of Athens.

Thus supported, Cassander sailed back to Athens, and entered the Piraeus, of which Nicanor, the governor appointed by his father, had still possession. Polyperchon, upon the first alarm, immediately turned his attention thither. He attacked him by land and sea, yet proved unsuccessful in both. His fleet, after obtaining at first some inconsiderable advantages, was totally defeated by that of Cassander. Athens, already partly in the hands of the enemy, and without prospect of relief from Polyperchon, was forced to submit, and to accept a governor named by Cassander. He appointed Demetrius Phalereus^s, the famed disciple of Theophrastus; of whose principles he was assured, from his intimate connexion with Phocion; and whose philosophical turn of mind seemed well adapted to the genius of the people he was to govern.

Polyperchon retires to Macedon:

The reduction of Athens completed the ruin of Polyperchon's affairs in Greece. The Peloponnesian states were already in the interests of Cassander. In

^s OLYMP. CXV. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 315.

most of the other cities, likewise, the friends of the house of Antipater were beginning to show themselves; so that Polyperchon judged it most prudent to relinquish what he could not hold, and to content himself with securing Macedon.

But the same ill conduct by which he had lost Greece, was also to deprive him of Macedon'. Polyperchon, now avowedly the creature of Olympias, besought her to take the young king under her guardianship, imagining her presence might add strength to his administration. Her arrival produced a contrary effect. All who had the most distant connexion with Antipater, beheld with terror, a revolution, which, from a woman of her fierce and vindictive spirit, was probably to end in their destruction. Philip-Aridaeus, and his queen, were more particularly affected by it. Aridaeus, the son of Philip by a concubine, had been the object of her aversion from his infancy; and the infirmity of his understanding was supposed to be the effect of a potion he had received from her. Eurydice, his wife, was the daughter of the unfortunate Cynane, whom Philip had by an Illyrian lady, and whom Perdiccas, to please Olympias, had put to death. Her father, Amyntas, son to Philip's elder brother, had, by Olympias's contrivance, been already destroyed; so that neither Eurydice nor her husband could think of her but with abhorrence; and, should she once possess power, they had cause to dread her utmost violence. Accordingly, when Eurydice

B O O K
III.
Sect. I.

recalls
Olympias;

is opposed, by
Philip Ari-
daeus, and
his queen
Eurydice;

* Just. L. xiv. c. 5, 6.

B O O K was apprized of her intended return, she endeavoured
 III. to provide for her security, by assembling forces,
 Sect. 1. and by pressing Cassander to hasten to her assistance;
 commanding, at the same time, Polyperchon not
 to interfere farther in the administration; but to
 resign it to Cassander upon his arrival.

marches
 against them
 with Olym-
 pias ;

at sight of
 Olympias,
 the soldiers
 of Eurydice
 refuse to fight.

Olympias
 causes Philip
 Aridaeus and
 Eurydice to be
 put to death.

This precipitate step furnished Polyperchon with
 an excuse for executing what he wished to perform.
 With Olympias at the head of his army, he immedi-
 ately marched against Eurydice; who, animated by
 her wrongs, led out her forces also; but her soldiers,
 either from treachery, or, according to some histo-
 rians, struck with the majesty of Olympias, in
 whose person they recollected the mother of Alexan-
 der and the wife of Philip, having refused to fight,
 the wretched Eurydice and her husband fell into the
 hands of this relentless woman¹⁰, who used her
 power with an inhumanity inseparable from her
 character. The king and queen she committed to a
 close prison, scarcely large enough to contain them,
 with an opening only left for the purpose of con-
 veying to them a wretched sustenance, less with
 the view of preserving life, than of prolonging misery.
 But, finding that these indignities served only to
 excite the compassion even of their enemies, she
 ordered some Thracian soldiers to dispatch Aridaeus,
 after he had nominally reigned six years and four
 months¹¹. This done, she sent messengers to Eury-
 dice, with a poniard, a rope, and a cup of poison,

¹⁰ Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 1.

¹¹ OLYMP. cxv. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 315.

commanding

commanding her to chuse which of them she pleased. B O O K
III.
Sect. 1.
They found Eurydice binding up and covering, in the best manner she could, the bleeding corse of her royal husband; she received the message without uttering any expostulation or womanish complaint; and, after praying the gods, that Olympias might be rewarded with the like present, with great composure strangled herself¹².

Olympias's lust of revenge was not yet sated. She caused Nicanor, brother to Cassander, to be also slain, and the tomb of Iolas, another brother, to be broke open, and his body exposed upon the public highway; and, having seized a hundred Macedonians of quality, supposed to have been friends to Cassander, she put them all to death. together with
Nicanor,
Cassander's
brother,
and a hun-
dred Macedo-
nians of
quality.

These violent proceedings had turned the greater part of Macedon against her, when Cassander appeared¹³. Upon the first advice from Eurydice, he had left Peloponnesus; and was on his way to her assistance, when the melancholy tidings of her fate reached him. A body of Aetolians, in the service of Polyperchon, had possessed themselves of the defile of Thermopyle, in order to dispute the passage. To avoid delay, he went on board his fleet, which he had ordered to follow him, and was on the confines of Macedon, before either Polyperchon or Olympias were aware of his approach; and, having divided his forces, he sent one detachment to employ Polyperchon; with the other, he marched in person Cassander
marches
against her.

¹² Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

¹³ Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 2, 3.

B O O K

III.

Sect. I.

against Olympias. She, with the young king, and Roxana his mother, several of the royal family, and Macedonian nobility, were shut up in Pydna, in full assurance, that both Polyperchon and Aeacidas king of Epire, her kinsman, were marching to her relief. But Cassander had taken his measures more effectually; seduced by a party he had artfully formed in Epire, the Epirots refused to follow their king, and, upon his attempting compulsion, deposed him. Polyperchon, sharply pressed by the forces sent against him, with difficulty provided for his own defence. Olympias, nevertheless, held out with firmness, till, compelled by famine, she was at last obliged to surrender. She stipulated only for her life; but, the kindred of those whom she murdered, demanding justice, Cassander pretended, that this stipulation related only to military execution, and that she was still amenable to the laws of her country. Her condemnation followed of course; and she was accordingly put to death. The young king Alexander, and Roxana, Cassander confined in Amphipolis. And Thessalonice, who was also made prisoner at the same time, the daughter of Philip by a lady of Thessaly, he married¹⁴.

obliges her to
surrender;

has her put to
death;
confines
Alexander,
Roxana's son,
and marries
Thessalonice,
Philip's
daughter.

Cassander's

The inveterate hatred with which Olympias pursued Cassander and his house, seems to account for the reports spread to his disadvantage concerning Alexander's death. They probably originated with Olympias, in order to procure the destruction of a family she abhorred. And indeed Cassander himself

¹⁴ Diod. Sic. ubi sup.

have much strength to them, by the detestation in
 which he confessedly held his master's memory, and
 the extreme cruelty with which he treated his nearest
 connexions. It appears from Plutarch¹⁵, that, long
 after the death of Alexander, he retained such a
 deadly enmity to his memory, that he could not bear
 the recollection of him without horror; a remarkable
 instance of which that historian has presented to us.
 After he had been some years in possession of the
 kingdom of Macedon, as he was walking one day at
 Delphi, and taking a view of the statues, the sudden
 sight of the statue of Alexander struck him with such
 dread, that he trembled all over, and with difficulty
 recovered from the giddiness it occasioned. Accord-
 ing to Plutarch, he had once burst into a laugh in
 Alexander's presence, at the sight of some barbarians
 prostrating themselves before him; when, enraged
 at the insult, the king caught him by the hair, and
 with both his hands dashed his head against the wall.
 Upon another occasion, as he attempted to vindicate
 his father, whom certain persons had accused,
 Alexander with loud menaces bade him beware
 of misleading him by his sophisms, denouncing
 vengeance against Antipater, if he did not fully
 answer the charge against him. Such was his terror
 from the king's violence, continues Plutarch, that,
 as long as he lived, he never was able to overcome
 the impression. It must be owned, Cassander remem-
 bered but too faithfully the passionate excesses of his
 master, and took ample revenge for them. His

B O O K

III.

Sect. I.

 detestation of
 Alexander's
 memory;

 from what
 causes.

¹⁵ Plutarch in Alexand.

BOOK III. shedding the blood of Olympias, violent as she was, is hardly to be justified. But his treatment of the young princes, Alexander's sons, which we shall have immediate occasion to mention, is altogether without excuse. There is even reason to suspect, that his pretended kindness to the Thebans was in fact a kind of triumph over Alexander. Alexander had exterminated the Thebans. Cassander made it his first care, after he had composed the affairs of Macedon, to collect together their remains, and to raise their city from its ruins, restoring it, as far as he could, to its former splendor. He had a pride, perhaps, in opposing Alexander, and in rearing up what he had demolished.

Cassander is involved in new wars with Antigonus,

Cassander had now succeeded, seemingly, to the utmost of his ambitious hopes. He was in full possession, the title excepted, of the regal dignity; Polyperchon, unable to oppose him, had taken refuge in Aetolia; Greece was in subjection; Epire was under his dominion; and, however iniquitous the means were by which he had acquired this power, yet these several nations, exhausted by continual wars, submitted patiently to a domination which promised them *some* repose. This interval of peace was of short duration. Antigonus, as already mentioned, had made considerable progress in Asia and the other generals of Alexander, jealous of a power which might soon prove fatal to their own, called upon Cassander to unite with them in humbling this formidable rival. This produced new troubles in Greece. Alexander, son to Polyperchon, had retired to the court of Antigonus; who imme

mediately dispatched him to Greece, with a large supply of money, in order to make a diversion in Peloponnesus. And Cassander having bought him off, by resigning¹⁶ all his rights in Peloponnesus, Antigonus had recourse to other methods, encouraging, under pretence of a zeal for liberty, the popular faction throughout the Grecian cities to rise against Cassander's government. All Greece was again in commotion; and the Aetolians having also taken up arms, and Aeacidæ at the same time making an attempt to recover his kingdom, Cassander found himself involved in very extensive military operations; which he nevertheless maintained with great spirit, not only resisting his different adversaries, but even making an impression on the Asiatic coasts, and distressing Antigonus at home. It were of little moment to enter into a detail of these desultory wars, which, as often as the parties found themselves weakened by their mutual losses, were interrupted by some kind of convention, to be violated as soon as a favorable opportunity offered for renewing hostilities.

What Cassander experienced in the course of these convulsions, probably impelled him to a crime, which, steeped in blood as he was, he had not before dared to execute. Young Alexander, Roxana's son, he held, as we have related, in confinement at Amphipolis; and though he had stripped him of all the trappings of sovereignty, and ordered him to be treated as a private person, he had not attempted

B O O K

III.

Sect. I.

and his confederates;

endeavours
to secure
himself,

¹⁶ Diod. Sic. L. xix. c. 4.

B O O K his life. Among many acts of violence, with which
III. Antigonus had charged Cassander, he reproached

Sect. I. him for disloyal treatment to his sovereign; and, as if *he* had a mighty regard for the royal line, threatened to rescue the prince out of the hands of his oppressors, and to vindicate his rights. The Macedonians, many of whom were not well-affected to Cassander, complained likewise of the shameful imprisonment of their king, and required that he should be no longer withheld from their sight. Cassander perceived at once where these murmurs might terminate, and, as a decisive step for his security, sent orders to Amphipolis to destroy both the Prince and his mother¹⁷. Young Alexander was aged about twelve years at the time of his death. Upon the discovery of his assassination, the Macedonians would have risen against the assassin, but they wanted a leader. And Antigonus and the other great generals were little disposed to revenge a crime, which was advantageous to themselves, and which, circumstanced as Cassander was, they would have had as little scruple to commit¹⁸.

by putting
 Alexander the
 son of Roxana
 to death.

Polyperchon
 sets up Hercules,
 the last
 male branch of
 the royal
 family, king
 in his stead.

There yet remained one male branch more of the royal family; Hercules, the son of Alexander by Barsine, widow of Memnon, and daughter of Artabazus, now aged seventeen, who had hitherto resided in Asia. Polyperchon, who was still in Aetolia, and who imagined the present opportunity was favorable for reviving his pretensions in Mace-

¹⁷ OLYMP. cxvii. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 310.

¹⁸ Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 1, 2.

don, while the minds of men were irritated against Cassander, conceived the scheme of making this young prince the instrument of his ambition. Having assembled therefore a considerable body of troops, he invited Hercules to pass over into Greece; had him acknowledged, wherever he could, as heir of the imperial house of Macedon; and declared his resolution of establishing him on the throne of his ancestors. Cassander was alarmed. He had one resource, however, in Polyperchon himself. He knew him to be base, perfidious, and mercenary; and hoped to make such overtures as would be able to detach him from the interests of this new competitor. He was not disappointed. The offer of associating him in the administration, and of yielding to him the entire sovereignty of Peloponnesus, put an end to his assumed loyalty; nay, to quiet all further fears of Cassander, the infamous Polyperchon undertook and accomplished the murder of the young king, of whom he had just avowed himself the protector. This assassination of *Hercules*¹⁹ took place about two years after that of Roxana's son.

B O O K
II.
Sect. I.

and murders
him at the
instigation of
Cassander.

Cassander, as we have before observed, had ceded Peloponnesus to the son of Polyperchon; but the possession of it was attended with many difficulties; and he was at last killed in an insurrection at Sicyon. Polyperchon's ill-acquired sovereignty had nearly the same issue; he met with vigorous opposition from the several nations of which it was composed; and, being obliged to retire, was deservedly destined to end his days in the utmost wretchedness.

The fate of
Polyperchon.

¹⁹ OLYMP. cxvii. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 308.

B O O K

III.

Sect. 1.

Cassander is
encompassed
with difficul-
ties ;

Cassander possessed, in his exalted station, but little enjoyment or peace of mind. In Macedon he was not popular. In Greece he was detested. While allied abroad to doubtful friends, Lyfimachus and Ptolemy, with whom he had no other connexion but the precarious one of present interest; he was surrounded by formidable and insidious enemies, the Aetolians and Epirots on the one side, and Antigonus and Demetrius on the other, who watched the opportunity of wresting from him a prize, which had cost him many crimes. Even the death of Alexander's children, from which he had hoped to derive security, had added to the importance of his rivals in empire; and, without sharing in his guilt, they had acquired from it rank and independence.

is attacked by
Demetrius
Poliorcetes,
who attempts
and takes
Athens ;

He soon felt the fatal effects of his misguided policy. The disaffection of the most considerable of the Greek republics presented Antigonus with the opportunity he had long sought, the means of carrying the war into Cassander's dominions; and Demetrius Poliorcetes was detached to attempt Athens, which if reduced would open a way to the reduction of the rest of Greece. The execution of this scheme was attended with little difficulty. When Poliorcetes appeared before Athens, the prospect of a revolution occasioned a general joy; and, far from receiving him as an enemy, they hailed him as their protector, compelling Demetrius Phalereus, whom Cassander had appointed over them, to abdicate the government. This appears more striking, as Demetrius Phalereus had been remarkable for the lenity of his administration. He was, besides, highly accom-

and ejects
Demetrius
Phalereus,

plished, of the most captivating deportment, and, which at Athens was no small merit, a celebrated speaker; though, according to Cicero, the first of the Greeks, who, instead of the nervous severity, and bold resistless spirit, to be found in the earlier orators, particularly in Demosthenes, substituted a milder and more pathetic species of eloquence, but as much inferior to that of former days in its manner and powers, if we are to believe the Roman²⁰ critic, “as the gently-gliding stream is to the thundering torrent.”

B O O K
III.
Sect. I.

He had governed Athens ten years, and apparently so much to the satisfaction of the people, that they had erected to him three hundred and sixty statues. But, such is the value of popular favor! these statues were now thrown down, his acts arraigned, his administration declared iniquitous and oppressive, and himself and all persons connected with him pronounced worthy of death. Phalereus, indeed, escaped by flight, in which he was assisted by Poliorcetes himself; and, after various fortunes, took refuge in Egypt; where we shall have occasion to mention him in the history of the affairs of that kingdom. That which rendered him eminently obnoxious was not so much, in all probability, what *he* had actually done, as his serving under a prince exceedingly odious, and his being the minister of a

²⁰ Hic primus, says Cicero (Brut. 9.) inflexit orationem, & eam mollem teneramque reddidit, & suavis, sicut fuit, videri maluit, quam gravis; sed suavitate eâ, quâ *perfunderet* animos, non *perfringeret*.

B O O K government founded in force, that had risen on the
 III. ruins of democracy, to which the Athenians, of
 Sect. I. all the nations in Greece, were most passionately
 attached.

Poliarcetes
 wins the affec-
 tions of the
 Athenians,

Poliarcetes, instructed by the fate of his predecessor, employed every art to gain the affections of the Athenians. He obliged the Macedonian garrison to evacuate the Munychia, which they had held ever since the days of Antipater, and demolished the fortrefs: he avoided entering Athens with a military force, for fear of giving umbrage: he restored the popular government in it's full extent: he promised, in the name of his father, a hundred and fifty thousand measures of wheat, and timber sufficient for building a hundred galleys — assuming the character only of *asserter of the public liberty*, without pretending to interfere in the administration, though by his agents he was directing all public operations.

who repay him
 with extrava-
 gant adula-
 tions.

The extravagant adulation ²¹ with which the Athenians expressed their gratitude, shows what a change had taken place in the character of that once-illustrious people. In their days of glory, an olive-wreath was the only reward a Miltiades laid claim to; and even in this he met with opposition. Now the most distinguished honors, such as Athens was wont to pay only to her gods, were prostituted to sooth the vanity of a young adventurer, whom they scarcely knew; who had served them, merely because it served his own interests; and who, they

²¹ See Plut. in Demet. & Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 3.

could not but be sensible, owed the power, of which he was possessed, to perfidy and usurpation. They consecrated the spot where Demetrius first alighted from his chariot when he entered Athens, and erected an altar upon it to *Demetrius the alighter*²². A law passed, that, when he condescended to come to Athens, he should be received with the same honors that were paid to Ceres and Bacchus; and that whoever should surpass the rest of the Athenians in the magnificence with which they received Demetrius, should have money from the public treasury to enable him to consecrate some pious memorial of his success—that Antigonus and Demetrius should be honored with the appellation of GODS PROTECTORS; and that, instead of denominating the year, as formerly, from the archon, they should create annually a priest of these *gods protectors*, whose name should be prefixed to all their public acts—that the portraits of these *gods protectors* should be wrought in the holy veil, with those of the other gods—that those who should be sent upon public business from the commonwealth of Athens, to Antigonus and Demetrius, should not be styled ambassadors, but THEOROI, *visitors of the gods*; a title appropriated to the messengers, who on solemn festivals carried the accustomed offerings to Delos and Delphi. They even com-

²² Βωμὸν Δημητρίου καταΐατον. Plut. in Demet.—According to Diodorus (xx. 3.) the Athenians set up golden statues of Antigonus and Demetrius next to those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, adorned with golden crowns, each of two hundred talents weight, and erected an altar in honor of them, by the name of *the Altar of the SAVIOURS*.

o K plimented their deliverers with an important altera-
 III. tion in the constitution, adding two to the number
 of their tribes, and calling them Demetrius and
 Antigonus; so that the senate, which before consisted of five hundred members, now consisted of six hundred, each tribe supplying fifty. What almost exceeds belief, they not only declared Demetrius to be a god; they also voted, that his words, being the words of a god, should be received as divine oracles. Accordingly, at the dedication of certain offerings at Delphi, concerning the form of which some doubts had occurred, a decree passed, that application should be made to this oracle, and that whatever it pronounced should be observed. Plutarch has preserved to us this curious monument. "In a
 " fortunate hour be it decreed by the people, that
 " a citizen of Athens be appointed to go to THE
 " GOD PROTECTOR; and, after due sacrifices
 " offered, demand of *Demetrius, the God Protector*,
 " what will be the most pious, the most honorable,
 " and expeditious method of consecrating the in-
 " tended offerings; and it is hereby enacted, that
 " the people of Athens shall observe what *the oracle*
 " shall have dictated." Strange, that Athens should ever have fallen thus low! and not less strange, that there ever should have been found a human mind so intoxicated by vanity and success, as to have pleasure in these fulsome adulations!

The next exploit of Demetrius Poliorcetes was the reduction of Megara; from which, as at Athens, he ejected the Macedonian garrison: and probably all Greece had soon acknowledged him sovereign,

most of the cities being disposed to open their gates to him, had not the orders of Antigonus obliged him to pass over to Cyprus, where Ptolemy's power was now become so formidable, as to threaten all the adjacent parts of Asia. His expedition thither, together with the Egyptian war, and the siege of Rhodes, on which we have already insisted, diverted for a time his attention from Grecian affairs. This interval was not neglected by Cassander; he employed himself in re-establishing his interests in the several cities of Greece, and in quelling that spirit of revolt, which appeared to animate most of them; and had sat down with his army before Athens, when Demetrius, urged by the earnest solicitations of his friends, hastened from Rhodes to their assistance. His success we have already mentioned.

Whatever strains of panegyric the Athenians had before indulged, they now surpassed²³ them all. Orders were given, that Demetrius should be lodged in the Parthenon, or virgin-temple of Minerva, on account, doubtless, of the sumptuousness of the edifice; though there could not be a grosser insult to the supposed purity of their goddess, than to give her for a guest a man of his coarse and dissolute manners. They were not ashamed however to see this sacred place made the receptacle of courtezans, and the scene of the lewdest debaucheries. They were even mean enough to become panders to his lust. They prostituted the honor of their families to his

²³ See Plutarch in Demet.

O K impure desires; and, as if they had been apprehen-
 I. sive posterity might imagine that these were the
 . I. private crimes of some servile individuals, to which
 government gave no sanction, an edict passed, im-
 porting, "it was resolved by the people of Athens,
 "that whatever Demetrius was pleased to command,
 "should be accounted holy in respect of the gods,
 "and just in respect of men:" An edict of so extraor-
 dinary a nature, that it were unnecessary to quote
 further instances of the debasement of this degenerate
 people.

fluen- The baneful influence of flattery soon showed
 etrius: itself in the change wrought on Demetrius. Licen-
 tious as he was, he had hitherto been distinguished
 by his affability and gentle demeanour. He now
 became imperious and arrogant; affected a superior
 carriage, and a loftier tone of language; and seemed
 to expect that other princes should bend before him,
 regarding them as persons in subjection to him, who
 existed by his favor, and were to yield up their
 governments at his nod. Ptolemy he affected to
 call his admiral; Lyfimachus his treasurer; Seleucus
 the master of his elephants. A conduct exactly similar
 had been remarked also in Antigonus; and the suc-
 cesses of his son had not helped to humble him. This
 haughty turn of mind appeared remarkable in their
 treatment of Cassander. He had sued for peace,
 and would willingly have submitted to the most
 humiliating conditions; but nothing less than the
 absolute resignation ²⁴ of all his dominions would

²⁴ Diod. Sic. L. xx. c. 5.

satisfy Antigonus and Demetrius. Such an intemperate use of fortune was attended with its usual consequences. Moved by Cassander's situation, and alarmed at an insolence, which showed what they had to expect, the rest of Alexander's successors formed an alliance against Demetrius and his father, which terminated in the fatal battle of Ipsus.

The sequel of Demetrius's fortunes we have already related²⁵. Cassander died some years afterwards, in the peaceable possession of Macedon and Greece, a few cities excepted, of which Demetrius and after him his son Antigonus, retained the sovereignty. A judgment seemed nevertheless to pursue this unhappy house²⁶. He left three sons. Philip, the eldest, having died soon after his father. Alexander and Antipater, the second and third, both claimed the kingdom; Alexander was supported by the interest of his mother Thessalonice, whose favorite he was; and Antipater, by Lyfimachus, whose daughter he had married. Antipater, resenting the preference of his mother for Alexander, had the impiety to imbrue his hands in her blood; and, flying afterwards to Lyfimachus, was, upon some difference betwixt them, imprisoned, and put to death. And, Alexander having called in Demetrius to his assistance, the latter, as before related, pretending a design against his life; had him taken off by violence.

In Thessalonice and her sons ended the royal

²⁵ See B. ii. Sect. 2.

²⁶ Just. L. xvi. c. 1, 2.

B O O K

III.

Sect. I.

lineage of Macedon. Twenty-eight years only had elapsed since Alexander's death, and not a single branch of his house remained to enjoy a portion of that empire, which Philip and his son had acquired at the price of great exertions, and much toil and bloodshed.

and in what
manner.

And it is worthy of observation, as these princes, in the pursuit of their ambitious schemes, exceeded in violence and cruelty, so by violence and cruelty was their family cut off, not one branch of it (those who died in their infancy and Alexander excepted) expiring peaceably, or even bravely in the field, but all by treachery and assassination. Philip perished by domestic treason. His daughter Cynane was slain by Perdiccas. Amyntas her husband, heir of the Macedonian crown, had been put to death earlier, some say by Olympias, some, by Alexander. Theffalonice, one of Philip's daughters, was, as we have just related, assassinated by her own son. Cleopatra, sister to Alexander, by Antigonus. Aridaeus, son to Philip, by Olympias. And Eurydice his wife, daughter to the unhappy Cynane, by Olympias also. Caranus and Europa, Philip's son and daughter by Cleopatra, his last wife, were likewise murdered by Olympias, the latter in her mother's arms.

Olympias herself was slain by Cassander. Statira, daughter of Darius and wife of Alexander, to whom surely on both accounts respect was due, was destroyed by Roxana, together with Alexander's unborn child. Roxana, in her turn, was treated in the same manner by Cassander; who murdered her and
her

her son. And Hercules, son also to Alexander, and the last male branch of the royal house, fell by the perfidy of Polyperchon.

B O O K
III.
Sect. I.

Such, to the family of Alexander, were the fruits of that ambition which had lighted the torch of war over Europe, Asia, and Africa, and had spread such dreadful and extensive devastation.

It may indeed be said, that these sanguinary actions were not the result of war, but were merely domestic crimes; and therefore not to be imputed to the military spirit which Philip and his son called forth; it is however evident, that they in a great measure proceeded from that ferocity of character, and relentless spirit, which constant wars and continued scenes of blood had introduced; they were the offspring of those deadly animosities, generally excited in civil distractions; and of the decay of loyalty towards their princes, for which the Macedonians at one time were celebrated, but which the miseries they had suffered had totally extinguished.

The military achievements of Philip's reign were doubtless of some benefit to Macedon; they improved the courage and discipline of her soldiers; they gave her security and independence; they enabled her to assume a rank and station among her neighbours, to which, before this period, she had never attained. And, had Alexander *completed the plan*, and no more, which his father seems to have traced out; had he contented himself with driving the Persians out of the Lower Asia, and freeing the Macedonians on that side from all future dread of invasion; had

B O O K he taken care to confirm and render permanent that
III. sovereignty over the Greek commonwealths, which
Sect. 1. their fears or their affections had yielded to him; he
probably had rendered Macedon flourishing and
powerful. But his ambition was her ruin. He drained
his country of her strength, in making conquests not
only useless but pernicious to her; and he left her a
prey to the ravages of war, and the rage of civil
contest, for nearly forty years after his death.

B O O K III.

S E C T I O N II.

C O N T E N T S.

Lyfimachus gets possession of the throne of Macedon — his character — is slain by Seleucus — Seleucus, by Ptolemy Ceraunus — Ptolemy Ceraunus, by the Gauls. — The Gauls lay waste Macedon — attempt Delphi — are repulsed — and retire. — Antigonus, son to Demetrius Poliorcetes, lays claim to the kingdom of Macedon — and obtains it — is attacked by another body of Gauls — defeats them. — Pyrrhus of Epire invades Macedon — defeats and dispossesses Antigonus — attacks Sparta — is repulsed — marches to Argos — is slain — his character.

THE expulsion of Demetrius from the throne of Macedon was of little service to that unhappy kingdom. Pyrrhus of Epire, and Lyfimachus of Thrace¹, who had acted in concert in the late revolution, now set up opposite claims to the succession, each of them demanding it as a recompence due for his services; and they prepared to support their pretensions by force of arms. An accommodation was at length brought about, of which, however, the dismem-bering of Macedon was the fundamental article; the

B O O K
III.

Sect. 2.

Pyrrhus and
Lyfimachus
invade Ma-
cedon :

¹ See Just. L. xvi. c. 3. Pausan. in Atticis. Plutarch in Pyrrho.

B O O K

III.

Sect. 2.

Lyfimachus
ejects Pyr-
rhus;his charac-
ter:marries Ar-
sinoe:

Upper² Macedon being allotted to Lyfimachus, and the Lower to Pyrrhus. But even this accommodation was only the temporary expedient of ambition. Upon the final ruin of Demetrius's fortunes in Syria, Lyfimachus began to execute what he had doubtless meditated from the beginning; and either by open violence, or by secret practices, soon stripped Pyrrhus of all his Macedonian possessions.

Under a wise administration, this reunion of the kingdom might have added to its security and strength. Under Lyfimachus, it only aggravated its miseries. Violent and sanguinary in his disposition, and no longer controlled by the apprehensions of an enemy near him, he now displayed the whole ferocity of his character. His own family were the first victims³. In the decline of life, he had married Arsinoe, the daughter of Ptolemy of Egypt, by Berenice his favorite queen. And some years before, Lyfandra, another of Ptolemy's daughters, by Eurydice, the daughter of Antipater, had been married to Agathocles, Lyfimachus's son. Berenice

² *The Upper Macedon*, that is, the eastern part, towards the Aegean sea; as by *the Lower* we are to understand the western, towards the Ionian or Adriatic. In former times, when Macedon was confined within narrower limits, by *the Upper Macedon* were generally meant, as appears from Thucydides (L. viii.) the mountainous parts of it, and by *the Lower*, the vallies and plain country; but the Macedonians having by degrees extended themselves from sea to sea, the eastern and western coasts had the appellation of *Upper* and *Lower* Macedon given to them. See Palmer. Græc. Antiq. L. i. c. 14.

³ Just. L. xvii. c. 1.

and Eurydice; jealous of each other, had long distracted the Egyptian court by their mutual animosities; and Berenice had taken care to inspire Arsinoë with the same hatred of Eurydice and her children, with which she herself was animated.

Arsinoë left Egypt, therefore, with the strongest prejudices against Lyfandra and her husband; which, on her arrival in Macedon, were not lessened by the high reputation of the young prince. He was looked up to by all with a sort of adoration: his military abilities and his amiable manners had endeared him equally to the army and to the people: and to his valor and conduct, his father stood confessedly indebted for some of the finest provinces of his kingdom. Filled as Arsinoë was with hereditary enmity, such accomplishments, strengthened by the consideration of his being heir apparent to the throne, were of a nature too distinguished, not to increase the aversion and the jealousy of that resentful and ambitious princess. They afforded, at the same time, many dangerous and specious arguments to an artful woman, whose lovely form and captivating powers carried her insinuations with irresistible force into the suspicious mind of a doting and inhuman tyrant. She soon brought over Lyfimachus to her fatal purpose*. Agathocles was suspected, imprisoned, and put to death†.

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conceives
suspicious of
his son Aga-
thocles :

puts him to
death.

* Some have said (see Paus. Xyland. in Atticis, p. 9.) that she had conceived a passion for the young prince; and that, finding her incestuous solicitations rejected, she pursued him with implacable hatred.

† There happened also at this time an incident, which

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Indignation
and fears of
the friends of
Agathocles;

The murder of Agathocles threw Macedon into great confusion. His melancholy fate occasioned a general indignation, and called to remembrance his many virtues; whilst Lyfimachus, whose temper became every day more distrustful, and who looked upon the honors paid to his son's memory as so many insults offered to himself, wreaked his vengeance on all who seemed even to lament him; so that the most virtuous of the Macedonians saw themselves exposed to the vindictive passions of this gloomy and cruel tyrant.

they flee to
Seleucus,

who prepares
to make war
against Lyfi-
machus,

Lyfandra also knew well, that the same hand which had destroyed her husband, was raised likewise against her life; and that her enemies only waited the opportunity of involving her and her dependents in one general ruin. Exasperated, therefore, by her wrongs, and doubtful of her safety, this unhappy princess, accompanied by her brother Ptolemy, and such of the nobility as had been most attached to Agathocles, fled to Asia, and implored the protection of Seleucus. This prince, pleased, perhaps, with the opportunity, readily granted the noble fugitives all they asked; and, having fallen directly upon the province of Lydia, made himself master of

appears to have precipitated the fate of the young prince. Ptolemy, the eldest son of Ptolemy king of Egypt, and Lyfandra's brother, had, upon the preference in the succession being given to Philadelphus, brother to Arsinoe, left Egypt, and retired to the court of Agathocles; which, it is likely, made Arsinoe apprehensive that he would endeavour to engage Agathocles in his interest, and through him recover the crown, of which he had been despoiled. But more of these transactions hereafter, in the history of Egyptian affairs.

Sardis, and was preparing to cross the Hellespont, when Lyfimachus prevented him. He had foreseen the storm that was gathering against him; and, too brave to decline the contest, or unwilling to hazard the issue in Macedon, (where, besides the power of a formidable enemy, he should have to encounter the disaffection of an injured people) had passed into Asia, and was advancing towards Seleucus.

The armies, headed by the two only surviving generals of Alexander, met on a plain on the Phrygian borders, called *the field of Cyrus**. Seleucus was aged seventy-seven years, and Lyfimachus eighty. Both of them were hardy and experienced warriors, who, during a long period of years, had been bound to each other by all the ties of friendship, if such a thing as friendship can, indeed, be known to the ambitious. Notwithstanding their advanced age, they both acquitted themselves with all the vigor and activity of youth; but Seleucus's fortune prevailed, and Lyfimachus fell.

Seleucus now considered the kingdom of Macedon as a prize belonging to the victor; and, having resigned his Asiatic dominions to his son Antiochus, seemed to please himself with the expectation of spending the remainder of his days, after a variety of revolutions, in the peaceable enjoyment of his native country. He little thought, that he was to receive his death from one of those persons, in whose

* Κύρου πεδίου — Strab. Casaub. L. iii. p. 432. It appears from Arrian, (ii. 4.) that it was the place of encampment of Cyrus the younger, near the gates of Cilicia from Cappadocia: he calls it Κύρου στρατόπεδον.

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by Ptolemy
Ceraunus.

behalf he had employed his arms. Lyfander's brother, Ptolemy, one of the most flagitious characters to be met with in history, had cast an eye on the throne of Macedon, and had determined, whatever crime it should cost him, to possess himself of it. Seleucus, too generous and unfuspicious, lived with him in the most familiar manner, and soon afforded him the opportunity he wished for. As he was on the point of entering Macedon, Ptolemy, watching the convenient moment, treacherously came behind, and stabbed his benefactor⁷, about seven months after Lyfimachus's death.

Ptolemy
Ceraunus
gets possession
of Macedon;

The success that attended this perfidious action, shows us the abject condition, not only of Macedon, but also of the adjacent states of Greece and Asia, at this juncture. Ptolemy, detested as he must have been, bathed in the blood of his benefactor, the murderer of a prince universally respected and beloved, found it, nevertheless, an easy matter to seat himself on a throne, to which he had no pretensions but what were founded on the atrocious action he had just committed. It is plain, it was to their exhausted situation he owed his security. Worn out by continual wars, they dreaded a contention, which was to renew their miseries. Antigonus, son to Poliorcetes, attempted, indeed, an opposition; but of little moment: and Antiochus himself; Seleucus's son, was forced to put off to a future day the revenging of his father's blood, the situation of his Asiatic affairs requiring his immediate presence.

⁷ OLYMP. CXXIV. 2. BEFORE CHRIST 282.

The title, by which the Egyptian prince held the crown, was odious; and the public hatred was increased by succeeding enormities^{*}. Arsinoe, his half-sister, Lyfimachus's widow, retained still a portion of Upper Macedon, in the chief city of which, Cassandria, she had her residence, together with the sons whom she had born to Lyfimachus. This was a mortifying circumstance to Ptolemy. He held but a mutilated kingdom, whilst this part was wanting. The young princes, besides, were sons to a king of Macedon, and might in time set up claims, which he should find it difficult to defeat. Should he attempt Cassandria by force of arms, and fail, it must lay open his designs, and might prove his ruin. He resolved, therefore, to proceed by art and subtilty; and, pretending to be captivated by the charms of Arsinoe, offered to share the throne of Macedon with her; and, as a farther inducement, to settle the succession upon her sons.

Maternal tenderness, and perhaps yet more her vanity and ambition, were too much flattered by these offers for her to reject them. She wanted, however, further assurances of his sincerity. This was an easy task. The most sacred oaths were employed on the occasion: Ptolemy, before the altar, imprecating on himself the severest vengeance of the gods, if he was not moved to this suit by the firmest and most ardent affection, and promising, whilst life remained, never to depart from his present regard and professions. The solemnity of the mar-

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courts the
widow of
Lyfimachus;

prevails on her
to marry him:

^{*} Just. L. xxiv. c. 2, 3.

B O O K III. Sect. 2. riage, which was celebrated with the utmost splendor, was followed by the pomp of Arsinoe's inauguration; on which occasions Ptolemy so successfully maintained the character of a tender lover, that his wife, banishing every suspicion, gave herself up to the fond belief of her husband's truth and constancy, and commanded the gates of the city of Cassandria, where her children resided, and her treasures were lodged, to be opened for his reception.

This was the grand object, for the sake of which he had been practising every hypocritical art. No sooner had he entered the gates, than he ordered his troops to possess themselves of the citadel; and the young princes, one aged sixteen, the other thirteen, who had appeared to attend his entry, and do him honor, to be immediately put to death. Upon the first notice of what was designed against them, they had fled to Arsinoe for protection; but the wretched mother could afford them none; the assassins not only rushing into her presence, but, regardless of her shrieks, murdered both the princes even in her arms, whilst she in vain endeavoured to cover them from the strokes of the inhuman executioners. As if all this barbarity had not been sufficient, after stripping her of her royal attire, and clothing her in a mean garb, this unhappy princess was dragged out of the city, and sent into exile to Samothrace.

Such enormous guilt seemed to provoke some exemplary punishment; and it soon overtook him. A vast body of Gauls⁹, amounting to three hundred

⁹ Pausan. in Phocicis. Just. L. xxiv. c. 5, & seq.

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thousand, had left their native home in quest of new settlements; and after following the course of the Danube for a considerable way, had divided into three bodies, one of which had broken into Macedon. Ptolemy had not force sufficient to cope with this formidable multitude; yet, as if urged on by divine vengeance for his crimes, he refused the only expedients that might have saved him. They demanded a certain quantity of gold, promising on that condition to march through his dominions without committing any depredation. Their demand was haughtily rejected. The Dardanians would have marched to his assistance. He disdained the offer; and, in full confidence of his own strength, and in contempt of that of the enemy, took the field with such tumultuary troops as he could get together, and defied the enemy to battle. The event was answerable to the folly of his conduct. With most of his men he perished¹⁰; and, the barbarians cutting off his head, carried it through their ranks exposed on the top of a lance. Ptolemy reigned about two years, and is distinguished in history by the appellation of *Ceraunus*, or *thunderbolt*; a name aptly expressive of his impetuous and ruthless violence.

rashly defies
them to battle;

and falls;

Never were people in a more deplorable condition than the Macedonians at this period; without a king, without an army; exposed to the depredations of incensed barbarians, and subject to every insult which their cruelty or their lust might dictate. Sophenes undertook at length to repress them. This

The Gauls
lay waste
Macedon;

¹⁰ OLYMP. cxxiv. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 280.

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Sect. 2.

noble Macedonian, called forth by the distresses of his country, assembled whatever adventurous spirits were yet to be found in Macedon, and, having formed them into a chosen band, occasionally surprised and harassed the ravagers. Repeated successes increased his reputation and his numbers, until by degrees he found himself enabled to attempt regular engagements; in one of which Belgius fell. But Macedon had not yet seen the end of her calamities. Brennus, another of the barbarian chieftains, who had remained behind in Pannonia, excited by the fame of Belgius's exploits, and of the rich plunder he had acquired, also hastened to share the spoil; and entered Macedon, say historians, at the head of a hundred and forty thousand foot and ten thousand horse. To such a force the resistance of exhausted Macedon was unequal. Sostrhenes's army, together with their gallant chief, were soon overpowered and cut to pieces; and, a few places of strength excepted, all was abandoned to the mercy of the conqueror. Laden with plunder, they left at length a country, where they could find nothing more to gratify their avarice; and shaped their course towards Greece.

march to-
wards
Greece;

Greece, enfeebled by a succession of evils, which her domestic follies, and the ambition of the princes of Macedon, had brought upon her, had seemingly nothing to oppose to this torrent of barbarians. Brennus, well informed of her situation, and flushed with victory, promised himself an easy possession of all the treasures, with which her cities were said to abound. He knew not what resources may be found

are stopped at
Thermopylae;

in strict discipline and wise counsels. Animated by the dangers that threatened them, the Grecian states mustered immediately what strength they could, and secured the defiles of Thermopylae, through which lay the route of the barbarians from Macedon; the Athenians under the command of Callippus, of whom history makes the most honorable mention¹¹, taking the lead in this important service: whilst their fleets sailed to the coasts of Thessaly, in order to support the operations of the army by land. Brennus had advanced, as if all opposition was to fly before him. But, to his amazement, neither the multitudes he commanded, the gigantic stature of his Gauls, nor the ferocity of their onset, were here successful. The military skill, and the superior excellence of their weapons, gave the Greeks a decided advantage; after repeated efforts, and the loss of many of the bravest of his troops, he found himself under the necessity of desisting.

He then detached forty thousand men to ravage Aetolia, which joined Thessaly on the south; in hopes that the Aetolians, who formed a considerable part of the Grecian army, would go to the defence of their own country. But enough still remained to guard the pass; and his detachment, after taking only the city of Callion, and increasing the detestation in which the barbarians were held, by the excessive cruelties they committed, were half of them cut off.

At length the inhabitants of that part of Thessaly

¹¹ See Pausan. in Atticis.

B O O K where the Gauls were encamped, wishing to get
 III. rid of these burdensome guests at any price, directed
 Sect. 2. Brennus to the path over mount Oeta, by which
 the Medes had entered Greece in the days of Leoni-
 das. Leaving therefore Aciachorius to command in
 his absence, he began his march at the head of a
 considerable army, sixty-five thousand chosen men,
 says Justin ¹², in order to surprise the temple of
 Delphi, famed for the precious offerings it contained.
 The same fortune he had before experienced pursued
 him thither also. As the Gauls approached the
 mount, on which the oracular temple stood, strange
 voices and solemn sounds struck their ears on every
 side; the mountain began to shake, and huge rocks,
 loosening from their foundations, precipitated down
 upon the affrighted Gauls, and crushed them in num-
 bers. The inhabitants, in the mean time, though
 hardly four thousand strong, inspired with a courage
 more than human, rushed forth against the bar-
 barians ¹³; who, panic-struck, betook themselves
 to flight; many of them, in their consternation,
 turning their swords one against another, perished
 by mutual wounds. The slaughter, which was
 prodigious, continued till the close of day ¹⁴.

attack Delphi:

are repulsed,

¹² Just. L. xxiv. c. 7.

¹³ Some historians say that they were led on by person-
 ages of divine appearance; whom they suppose to be Apollo,
 Minerva, and Diana.

¹⁴ According to Pausanias (in Phocicis, p. 340.) the
 discomfiture of the Gauls at Delphi happened the 2d year of
 the 125th Olympiad, that is, 278 years before Christ. This
 agrees exactly with what the accurate Polybius tells us

The night, that followed, gave them no respite. Besides hideous voices, the crash of rocks, together with the cry of the enemy pursuing, which they still heard or seemed to hear, a tempest uncommonly dreadful overtook the remains of this wretched army, attended with such piercing cold, that most of the wounded expired of the anguish it occasioned. Brennus had been likewise wounded; but his bodily sufferings were light in comparison of what his mind endured; he felt the whole severity of divine vengeance, and in his distraction laid violent hands on himself. The few, who survived, having with much difficulty joined Aciachorius, endeavoured to retreat from this inauspicious country. But, wheresoever they went, they found enemies; the several nations, as they passed, rising against them; and of all those vast multitudes, which had poured out of Macedon into Greece, not one, we are told, escaped¹⁵.

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and retire in
consternation.

Brennus kills
himself.

(L. ii. c. 41.) that Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, Lyfimachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy Ceraunus, died all in the course of the 124th Olympiad. Ptolemy Ceraunus we suppose here to have fallen in battle against the Gauls, the 4th year of that Olympiad. He is said to have reigned two years. He therefore slew Seleucus the 2d year of that same Olympiad. And seven months before that had Lyfimachus been slain. Sosthenes, the successor of Ceraunus, held the administration about two years, that is, until the 2d year of the 125th Olympiad, when he was killed by Brennus, who in consequence of his victory invaded Greece.

¹⁵ Paulmier de Grantmesnil, in his *Graec. Antiq.* L. vi. c. 8. maintains, that the Gauls really sacked Delphi, and that what Pagan writers say to the contrary is only to be considered

BOOK III. Such are the extraordinary circumstances, with
 Sect. 2. which ancient writers have recorded this irruption
 and adorned their narrative.

as an invention of the Greeks, dictated by their vanity and superstition. And he founds his assertion chiefly on the testimony of Strabo, who, as quoted by that learned critic, says that a considerable part of the Delphic treasure was carried off by the Gauls to Toulouse, and found there by Caepio, the Roman general, when he plundered that city. But, upon examining Strabo, it appears, that this is only a partial quotation; and that, taken all together, his evidence bears quite another way. His words are these: "There is indeed a tradition, " that the Tectosages" (a tribe of Gauls near the Pyrenees) " were among the Gauls who invaded Delphi, and that the " treasure found at Toulouse by Caepio the Roman general " was part of the plunder which they had carried off from " Delphi, and which, upon their returning home, they " had consecrated to the gods, in order to placate them, " having added to it much treasure of their own; and that " Caepio, for presuming to lay hands on this sacred deposit, " had perished miserably with his whole family. But what " Posidonius relates is much more credible. He says, that the " treasures found at Toulouse, to the amount of 15,000 " talents, were either laid up in the temples, or concealed " in the sacred lakes, and consisted altogether of unwrought " gold and silver. But at the time when the Gauls invaded " Greece, the Delphic temple had no such treasure, having " been lately plundered by the Phocians. And what little " the Gauls might have got there, the soldiers would probably " have had divided among them. Neither is it likely, that " these Tectosages ever reached their native land, having " suffered great miseries, after they left Delphi, and been " dispersed under different leaders in different countries." Strab. Casaub. L. iv. p. 130. — Allowing, however, what Strabo does not seem willing to allow, that a part of these invaders reached Toulouse, and brought some portion of the

Amidst

Amidst these fictions, it is not impossible to trace the truth. From Justin ¹⁶ we learn, that the Delphians, far from relying on any supernatural intervention, provided for their preservation with admirable dexterity. They issued orders, in the name of the oracle, to the inhabitants of the adjacent villages, to abandon their dwellings, leaving them well stored with all manner of provisions and plenty of wines. This scheme had the desired effect. The Gauls, sharpened by hunger, and meeting with no enemy to oppose them, freely indulged themselves, thinking they were in full security. The contrivance gave the Greeks an opportunity of making more effectual preparations, and of collecting succours from the neighbouring cities; and the barbarians, disordered by excess, lost much of that vigor, by which their operations had been generally distinguished.

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Sect. 2.

Causes of their
discomfiture.Precautions of
the Delphians.

The situation also of Delphi furnished the inhabitants with the means of displaying their ingenuity in another manner. Mount Parnassus, on the side of which stood the sacred city, had many caves and windings, from whence proceeded a variety of curious echoes. By stationing people in proper places,

Situation of
Delphi.

plundered wealth home with them, it does not follow that this was the plunder of Delphi. They had already enriched themselves with the spoil of Macedon; and Pausanias (in Phocicis) expressly tells us, that, when the Gallic chiefs marched to Delphi, a part of the army was left at Heraclea, to guard the treasure they had amassed, and which they left behind them in their camp; ὡς ἔμελλον Φρουρήσειν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν στρατόπεδον χρήματα.

¹⁶ Just. L. xxiv. c. 7.

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with instructions to shout and scream out, as occasion required, it is plain, that the natural effects of the place must have produced a multiplicity of strange voices, which issuing loudly forth, without any visible cause, from every side, with an extraordinary increase of reberberating sounds, could not but strike terror and dismay into an uninstructed multitude, and beget in them an opinion, that beings more than human were concerned in producing them.

The mountaineers of Parnassus tumble down fragments of rocks on the Gauls;

On the same principle may be explained the concussions of the mountain, and the disruption of those large fragments, which, we are told, rolled down, and overwhelmed the Gauls, as they attempted to ascend. Well acquainted with the heights of Parnassus, the inhabitants, doubtless, had it in their power to loosen many of the rocks of that precipice, and to roll them down on the enemy. The mountaineers of the Alps¹⁶ practised the like operation against Hannibal, in his passage into Italy: and these massy bodies, bounding in their descent from cliff to cliff, and dashing at length against the bottom with impetuous violence, might well cause somewhat of a tremulous motion all around.

the Gauls rude and ignorant, easily impressed with terror.

The Gauls, therefore a rude people, and prone to wonder, finding themselves assailed by strange voices and terrifying sounds, which seemed to proceed from beings of a superior order; hearing the noise of mountains tumbling over their heads, seeing numbers of their companions destroyed by the sudden ruin that appeared to descend from heaven; feeling, at the

¹⁶ See Liv. L. xxvii. c. 34.

same time, the ground to loosen and tremble beneath their feet; might very possibly be led to conclude, that the gods interested themselves against them. The rest is easily accounted for. The mind, once struck with a panic, is apt to magnify the most trifling objects, and often imagines circumstances that never had existence. The superstition of the times assisted the illusion; and the Greeks, both then, and for ages after, whether misled by credulity or prompted by interest, failed not to support the credit of these legendary tales.

It appears, nevertheless, from Pausanias¹⁷, that the act of despair, of which Brennus was guilty, was owing to the apprehensions he had of his own countrymen. He it was who had engaged them in this unprosperous expedition; and he dreaded their resentment. There is also the fullest evidence from Strabo¹⁸, and other ancient writers, that the Gauls were not all cut off. Justin himself, who says, not one of them escaped, acknowledges, in another place that part of them made their way into Thrace, and part into Asia¹⁹. This is also confirmed by the testimony of Polybius²⁰, from whom we learn, that they formed a considerable settlement in the neighbourhood of Byzantium; and after some years brought even the Byzantines under a tributary subjection.

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Sect. 2.

True cause of
Brennus's
despair.

Loss sustained
by the Gauls
exaggerated.

The success thus obtained by the arms of Greece

Noble vigor
exerted by the
Greeks;

¹⁷ See Pausan. in Phocicis.

¹⁸ See Strab. ubi. sup.

¹⁹ Just. L. xxxii. c. 3.

²⁰ See Polyb. L. iv. c. 46.

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against these barbarian tribes, who, spreading devastation through most of the European nations, had, for above a hundred years, disputed the prize of empire with Rome herself, shows the spirit and vigor of the Grecian people when fully exerted; and leads us to conceive what they might have achieved, had they not suffered their strength to consume away in domestic divisions, and destructive contests for sovereignty between city and city. United firmly together, and employing their joint efforts for the preservation of their common liberties, they might long have spurned the yoke of bondage, and have bid defiance to every foreign foe.

by the Athenians in particular.

It is also worthy of observation, that the Athenians, in whom, for many years before, the spirit of ancient days seemed to have been altogether extinguished, should, on this occasion, have deserved to be ranked among the foremost of the deliverers of Greece; and it is no less remarkable, that, after the expulsion of these barbarians, this principle of virtue, by which they were now actuated, should at once lose its whole activity and power. From this time, therefore, they make but a contemptible figure in the affairs of Greece; acting only a secondary part in the various revolutions that followed; and seemingly concerned, not so much for the preservation of their liberties, as into whose hands they should deliver them.

Antigonus, son to Demetrius Poliorcetes, gets possession of Macedon;

The kingdom of Macedon had suffered severely during the late irruptions of the Gauls; and it might have been expected, that, impoverished as it now was, it would have been permitted to enjoy some interval of repose. It appears, nevertheless, to have

been still an object of ambition to the neighbouring princes. Antigonus, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who, since his father's misfortunes, held possession of some of the Peloponnesian cities, revived pretensions to it, which he had attempted to urge in the beginning of the reign of Ceraunus. His plea was, "his father had sat on the throne of Macedon, and, by his mother Philla, he was of the house of Antipater." Accordingly, when he found the Gauls had retired, he marched an army into what he called his own dominions. Antiochus, the son of Seleucus, on the other hand, advanced a title not less specious; "he claimed Macedon in right of his father, who in fair battle had won it with his sword from Lyfimachus;" and prepared to support his claim by a powerful armament. Means, however, were contrived to compromise the matter. It was agreed, that Antigonus should wed the princess Philla, whom Seleucus had by Stratonice before he resigned her to his son: and in consequence of this marriage, Antiochus relinquished his pretensions to Macedon in favor of Antigonus.

This re-establishment of public tranquillity was of short continuance. A body of Gauls²¹ had halted, and settled on the northern boundaries of Macedon, at the time Brennus was carrying on his ravages to the southward. They soon heard that Antigonus had brought much treasure from Peloponnesus, and that Macedon began again to give proofs of cultivation and prosperity. Allured by the prospect of plunder, they sent an embassy to Antigonus, requiring

B O O K
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Sect. 2.

is attacked by
another body
of Gauls,

²¹ Just. L. xxv. c. 1, 2.

B o o k the payment of a certain subsidy, on which condition
 III. they tendered him peace. Antigonus refused to
 Sect. 2. comply with terms so dishonorable ; at the same time,
 thinking to intimidate his adversaries by a display of
 his power, he entertained their ambassadors with
 great parade, and made a splendid exhibition of his
 army and equipments for war. The report of the
 ambassadors, upon their return home, served only
 as an additional incitement to the barbarians, who
 immediately made an inroad into Macedon. Anti-
 gonus saw his mistake, and endeavoured to repair
 it. As if fearful of giving battle, he suffered them
 to carry on their depredations unmolested ; but when
 and defeats them. incumbered with booty, he fell on them with his
 troops, which he had disposed in places proper for
 the purpose, and made great slaughter ; few of the
 enemy, say historians, escaping. It is nevertheless
 evident, that, with all these exterminations, of which
 we so frequently read, the Gauls must have had at
 this period powerful settlements in most of the adja-
 cent countries, especially to the north of Macedon ;
 for, from this period, scarcely any war was undertaken
 among the nations of those parts, in which they were
 not employed as mercenaries.

Pyrrhus in-
 vades Mace-
 don ;

his various

This invasion was hardly over, when, as if
 Macedon was never to enjoy repose, a new enemy²²
 appeared. Pyrrhus has been already mentioned ; but
 so uncommon a character deserves more particular
 notice. His life had been a constant scene of adven-

²² Plutarch in Pyrrho. Just. L. xxv. c. 3, 4. 6. Pausan.
 in Atticis.

tures. Even in his infancy, when his father Aeacidas, king of Epirus, and nephew to Olympias, had been driven from his throne, through the intrigues of Cassander of Macedon, his life had been preserved in a wonderful manner. Cassander, the mortal foe of Olympias and her lineage, had sworn the extirpation of the house of Aeacidas; and had given directions to his faction, that the young prince especially should not escape. Pyrrhus's attendants contrived, nevertheless, to convey him out of Epirus; but, in their flight, they found themselves stopped by a river, swollen and unfordable by heavy rains. There was no boat, and the pursuers were at hand. In this distress, one of his retinue, having written with the tongue of a buckle on a piece of oak-bark, an account of the fortunes of the infant they had in charge, and of the dangers that threatened him, fastened it to a javelin, and threw it to the opposite side; which moving the compassion of the people of the country, they provided immediately a raft, and got him over. From thence they made their way to the court of Glaucias king of Illyria, who was married to Berœe, a princess of the royal house of Epirus. Upon coming into the king's presence, being doubtful of the reception they should meet with, they laid the child at his feet in the posture of a suppliant. The king, who dreaded Cassander, remained a considerable time wrapped in silent suspense, seemingly revolving what part he should act. During which, Pyrrhus, of his own accord, creeping close to him, took hold of his robe, raised himself up, and clung round his knees. Won by this artless pleading of the little infant,

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III.

Sect. 2.

Glaucias caught him in his arms, and delivered him to the queen, to be brought up with his own children; and, though afterwards repeatedly solicited by Cassander, who employed both threats and promises, he steadily refused to withdraw his protection from him; and when twelve years old, he conducted him in person back to Epirus, and placed him on the throne of his ancestors. Pyrrhus had reigned about five years, when, another revolution taking place, he was again obliged to quit Epirus; and fled to Demetrius Poliorcetes, who had married his sister Deidamia. With him he remained for some years; he fought by his side at the battle of Ipsus; and, when a treaty was concluded by Demetrius with Ptolemy and Seleucus, he went as an hostage for his patron into Egypt. This visit to the Egyptian court proved the means of restoring the fortune of Pyrrhus. His accomplishments recommended him to the favor of Ptolemy and Berenice, who gave him in marriage Antigone, daughter of Berenice by her first husband, and enabled him to recover the kingdom of Epirus. The share he afterwards had in the revolutions of Macedon, his obtaining a part of that kingdom, and losing it again, have been already related.

Pyrrhus, now restored to Epirus, relieved from foreign wars, and in the peaceable possession of his hereditary throne, had nothing to divert his attention from the prosperity of his kingdom. But his mind knew not repose. The Tarentines, who had rashly engaged in war against Rome, applied to him for assistance; and his ambitious spirit eagerly seized an opportunity from which he fondly promised to

himself nothing less than the conquest of all the kingdoms of the earth. What events this expedition produced, is the business of another history. It may be sufficient here to observe, that after various exploits in Italy and Sicily, which only ended in making his name memorable, he had returned to Epire, full of indignation against Antigonus, to whom he had applied for succours without obtaining them. In revenge, therefore, he made an irruption into the Macedonian borders. His view at first was only depredation; but, place after place falling before him, and the Macedonians themselves (by whom he was held in great admiration on account of his martial achievements, and a strong resemblance they fancied he bore to Alexander the Great) favoring his progress and deserting to him, he was tempted to proceed; and, having defeated Antigonus in a pitched battle, found himself almost unexpectedly in possession of the throne of Macedon.

Pyrrihus defeats Antigonus and gets possession of Macedon :

This revolution was far from alleviating the calamities of the Macedonians. Pyrrhus valued victory, as it was the means of plunder, and used it accordingly. He had, besides, enlisted into his service a body of mercenary Gauls, whom he recompensed by permitting them to plunder those nations whom they had helped him to conquer. Accordingly, wherever they came, neither public nor private wealth escaped: the sepulchres of the Macedonian kings at Aegae they even polluted and ransacked, for the sake of the treasures they were supposed to conceal.

permits his mercenary Gauls to plunder;

Antigonus, however, had not yet given up the contest. He was still master of Theffalonica and the

leaves Ptolemy, his son, governor of

B O O K

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Sect. 2.

Macedon, by
whom Anti-
gonus is
again defeat-
ed;

marches
against Spar-
ta,

and is near
surprising it.

adjoining coasts; and having assembled a new army, marched against Ptolemy, the son of Pyrrhus, whom his father had left to govern the kingdom during his absence in Epire; but Antigonus was again defeated, and with difficulty saved himself by flight. Had Pyrrhus known how to make a proper use of his present advantages, the throne of Macedon had probably been for ever lost to Antigonus; but, hurried away by his passion for war, he soon prosecuted other adventures.

Cleonymus, a prince of the royal blood of Sparta, driven by certain wrongs from his country, had applied to him for protection. "Areus," he alledged, "had usurped the Spartan throne to his prejudice; and, which to him was a far more grievous injury, his wife Chelidonis, whom he dearly loved, had been seduced by Acrotatus, son to Areus, and was forcibly with-held from him." Pyrrhus listened willingly to complaints, which opened new scenes to his ambition; he promised to avenge the cause of Cleonymus; and, marching at the head of twenty-five thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty-four elephants, arrived within sight of Sparta before his adversaries were aware of his intentions. His approach spread consternation throughout the city. Areus was absent in Crete, and had carried with him the flower of the Spartan army; those who remained at home being mostly persons who, from their age or sex, were incapable of military service. Had Pyrrhus therefore proceeded with his wonted impetuosity, it was scarcely possible that Sparta should have made a long defence; but he had reached

that city at close of day; and, fearing that amidst the confusion of the night he should not have it in his power to restrain his troops from pillaging, he thought it adviseable to delay the attack until the morning.

His delay saved the Spartans. The council having assembled upon the first alarm, it had been proposed to send off the women; but the women of Sparta were unacquainted with fear: apprized therefore of the proposal, they deputed Archidamia to deliver their sentiments to the senate. She entered the assembly armed, with a sword in her hand, and thus addressed them, "Deem not, men of Sparta, so meanly of the Spartan women, as to imagine they will survive, when their country is no more: consider not then, *whither* we are to fly; determine only what we are to do; and whatever station shall be assigned to us, that we are prepared to undertake and to perform." Animated by this spirited address, it was resolved to employ the night in sinking a trench opposite to the enemy, its extremities to be guarded by waggons fixed firmly in the ground, in order to prevent the passing of the elephants; the trench to be in breadth six cubits, in depth four, in length eight hundred. One third of this work the women undertook to execute; the old men were to complete the rest; the young men not being allowed to assist in it, that they might be in full strength to sustain the enemy's charge in the morning.

At day-break Pyrrhus saw with amazement what the night had produced; commanding, however,

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III.

Sect. 2.

Heroism of
the Spartan
women,Brave de-
fence of the
Spartans.

BOOK III. Sect. 2. a general assault, he endeavoured to force his way by storm; but every where he found a vigorous resistance; the Spartan line opposed an impenetrable rampart of shields and bristling weapons; and the mould having been newly thrown up, afforded the Macedonians a treacherous footing; so that, tumbling back into the ditch, numbers were slaughtered. Meanwhile, Ptolemy, the son of Pyrrhus, had nearly triumphed over all the precaution of the Spartans. Observing them to be too secure of one part, which was fortified by the waggon, and less attentive to its defence, he made an attack upon that quarter, at the head of two thousand Gauls. Already had he cleared away the carriages, and was laying open a passage, when Acrotatus, perceiving the danger, sallied from the opposite part of the city, and wheeling round by the hollow-way that lay at the foot of the hills, unexpectedly attacked and dislodged the Macedonians with great carnage²³.

Night at length parted the combatants, but

²³ We have here from Plutarch (in Phocicis) a striking instance of the shameful disregard in which the connubial vow was held by the pagan world. As Acrotatus, after performing the exploit of dislodging the enemy, was returning through the city, *he appeared to the Spartan women*, says the biographer, *taller and more graceful than ever, and they could not forbear envying Chelidonis such a lover*: nay, even some of the old men followed, and cried out, "Go, Acrotatus, and enjoy Chelidonis; and may your offspring be worthy of Sparta!" and yet had the disloyalty of this very Chelidonis been one of the principal causes that had provoked the present war.

without abating their fury. They waited impatiently for the morning; and, as soon as it appeared, the action was renewed with the same obstinate violence. The women of Sparta shared every danger with their countrymen; they supplied them with ammunition and refreshments, they attended the wounded, and carried off the dead. After repeated efforts, Pyrrhus, who saw the trench was not to be forced, determined to penetrate the barricado of waggons, which his son had unsuccessfully attempted the preceding day. Through these he forced his way; and, with a number of horsemen getting within the Spartan lines, advanced full speed towards the city. At sight of this the Spartan women sent forth a shriek of despair, imagining, that Sparta had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The moment was truly critical; Sparta was in the most imminent danger; and appears to have been saved merely by one of those unforeseen events on which the fate of kingdoms often depend. A Cretan archer, taking aim at the king; buried an arrow in the body of his horse, who, plunging in the agonies of death, Pyrrhus is repulsed, threw his rider. The Macedonians, apprehending their sovereign was slain, fell back. And the Spartans, at the same instant, rushing forward, recovered their ground, and compelled Pyrrhus to consult his safety by retiring.

He was not discouraged. "To-morrow," said he, "we will resume the fight; by which time the Spartans will have felt their wounds, and be less able to resist us." But that very night a body of troops from Antigonus entered the city. And a few

B O O K
III.
Sect. 2.

prepares to
march for
Argos;

B O O K hours after Areus himself arrived, with two thousand men. Pyrrhus saw, that to storm Sparta was
 III. now altogether impracticable; and, having received
 Sect. 2. an invitation from the people of Argos to hasten to their assistance against Antigonus, he gladly availed himself of the pretence, and prepared to withdraw his troops.

is pursued
 by the Spartans;

his son Ptolemy is slain,

This was a matter of greater difficulty than he imagined. Areus, filled with resentment, observed all his motions; and, as soon as he had begun his march, by hanging on his flank and rear, galled him severely. Ptolemy, endeavouring to cover his father's retreat, and adventuring too far among the enemy, was surrounded and slain. This was a severe blow to Pyrrhus. He was his son by Antigone, step-daughter to Ptolemy king of Egypt; and was accounted one of the most amiable princes of his time. Pyrrhus showed his concern in a manner natural to his character. He turned upon the enemy, and sacrificed to his revenge all who fell in his way.

He is refused
 admittance
 into Argos,

On his arrival at Argos, he found the situation of affairs very different from what his hopes had represented them. He possessed, it is true, a faction among the Argives; but Antigonus had likewise his; and was encamped with a respectable force at a small distance from the city. The citizens of Argos, besides, began to see the mistake they had been guilty of, in calling in these high-spirited and ambitious princes; and, apprehensive of the issue, both parties had united in requesting the two kings not to make their city a scene of bloodshed; but, whatever might be their disputes, to decide them without the

gates. Antigonus promised to comply. Pyrrhus also acquiesced; but, tempted by the advantages he expected to derive from the possession of the city, in violation of his royal word, he prevailed upon some of his partisans to admit him privately by night.

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Sect. 2.

The night chosen for the purpose being dark; the gate narrow; and the street, leading from it, strait and slippery; the Macedonians, who were strangers to the place, were much embarrassed, and soon fell into confusion. Before the evil could be remedied, day-light appeared. Pyrrhus now saw himself beset with difficulties: the posts of importance were all in the hands of Antigonus's friends; the citizens were coming down upon him from all quarters; and the narrowness of the street, together with the crowds that poured in, made it impossible for his troops either to form or to advance. Convinced therefore of the folly of the attempt, he resolved to retire; and accordingly directed his son Helenus, who commanded without the gate, to break down part of the city-walls, in order to give a free passage to his troops in their retreat. But his orders were unfortunately mistaken; the troops without, striving to rush in to his assistance, added to the uproar, and at the same time one of the elephants falling, choked up the gate-way. Amidst the tumult which this scene of confusion occasioned, Pyrrhus, endeavouring to keep off the multitude, received a slight wound from the hand of an Argive; when turning on him, to revenge the blow, the mother of the man, who happened to be looking at the battle from the roof of an adjoining house, terrified at the danger to

attempts
to enter it
by night,

B O O K

II.

Sect 2.

and is slain
by the hand
of a woman;

his character
as a warrior,

as a king.

The ills
which his

which her son's life was exposed, aimed a tile at the king²⁴; which falling on his helmet, brought him senseless to the ground; this misfortune one of Antigonus's officers perceiving, dragged him immediately aside, and struck off his head²⁵.

Such was the humiliating fall of this warrior, whose active life had been productive of so much devastation and bloodshed.

Pyrrhus is ranked by many among the greatest generals of antiquity. Even Hannibal, if we may believe Plutarch²⁶, accounted him the first in genius and skill the world had ever beheld; Scipio, according to him, being only the second; and himself the third. Whatever authenticity may be in this story, the tradition shows in what high estimation his military abilities were held. He was certainly possessed of great talents, and he had been a blessing to the age in which he lived, had his turbulent spirit, and thirst for military fame, permitted him to employ his powers for the happiness, instead of the destruction of mankind.

Epire suffered, under his reign, all the calamities

²⁴ Such, it appears, was the terror the Argives had of Pyrrhus, that they considered the deliverance, which they obtained by his death, as the effect of some supernatural interposition. It was, said they, Ceres, who, having assumed the form of an old woman, discharged the tile on his head, in order to save her favorite Argos from this fell warrior. And accordingly a temple was raised to Ceres on the spot where Pyrrhus was slain. Pausan. in Atticis.

²⁵ OLYMP. CXXVI. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 272.

²⁶ In Pyrrho.

which

which generally distinguish the reigns of ambitious princes. Neither did the miseries he brought upon it end with his life. Alexander, his son and successor, inured by his father to arms from his earliest years, and seduced by that appearance of glory which Pyrrhus's achievements had cast around him, pursued the same martial track, and, like his father, marked his whole reign with commotion and bloodshed. Soon after the death of this prince, followed the ruin of his royal house; in which the same causes appear to have had a considerable share. His two sons, harassed whilst they lived by different foes, died young. And the princess Laodamia, to whom the succession devolved, was murdered in an insurrection of her own subjects at the altar of Diana, where she had taken sanctuary²⁷. Such an atrocious violation of whatever was deemed most sacred, shows the degree of ferocity which the Epirots had contracted in the course of so many wars, and perhaps the resentment also they entertained of the ills, which the turbulence of their princes had brought upon them.

From this time, history speaks of them as a people sunk into the lowest and most abject condition; having neither wisdom to cultivate peace, nor vigor to defend themselves in war; but, wasted by incessant civil broils, and the incursions of foreign enemies, they dwindled into insignificancy, and were at length almost totally exterminated²⁸.

²⁷ Just. L. xxvi. c. 1. 3.

²⁸ Justin ubi supra.

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III.

Sect. 2.

This representation of Justin will hardly be thought exaggerated, when we consider the ravages to which the Epirots had been so long exposed from their neighbours of Aetolia, of Thessaly, of Illyricum, of Macedon; nations practised in war and depredation, to whose hostilities their territories lay open: and especially too when we reflect upon the devastation which the Romans also made among them; laying in ruins in one day every town in Epire, and carrying into captivity all the inhabitants, that were young and fit for service; to the amount, the Roman historians themselves confess, of a hundred and fifty thousand.

But these transactions belong to a later period. They have been only slightly mentioned here, on account of their connexion with our history of the reign of Pyrrhus.

HISTORY OF GREECE.

BOOK IV.

SECTION I.

CONTENTS.

Macedonian and Grecian affairs under Antigonus — his son Demetrius — and Antigonus the second, kings of Macedon. — Origin of the republic of Achaia — its decay — re-establishment — aggrandizement, and prosperity — from what causes.

UPON the death of Pyrrhus, Antigonus was again seated on the throne of Macedon. He now saw himself without a rival; and, as if he had succeeded to Pyrrhus's ambition, as well as to his power, he began already to form schemes for the reduction of Greece. But, the more formidable he affected to appear, the more formidable became the opposition to his views. The states that had favored Pyrrhus, marked all his steps with jealous eyes; and even those who had been most forward in espousing

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IV.

Sect. I.

Antigonus
recovers the
kingdom of
Macedon;

B O O K

IV.

Sect. I.

excites the
jealousy of the
other Grecian
states;

is attacked by
the Gauls:

his prudent
conduct:

his cause, could not, without just apprehensions, behold a king of Macedon master of extensive possessions in the very heart of Peloponnesus. Nay, Areus, the Spartan king, who had fought on the same side, was not free from well-grounded fears, and thought it adviseable to strengthen himself against Antigonus, by applying for succours to Ptolemy Euergetes, then on the throne of Egypt, the most powerful prince of his time, and connected by friendship and interests with many of the Grecian states.

Amidst these preparations and expectations of war, a new and most formidable enemy appeared. A fresh irruption of Gauls, after hovering for some time on the frontiers, broke in at length upon Macedon; which they ravaged with a barbarity unexampled even among those fierce invaders. Alarmed at the approach of a foe, whose very name carried dismay along with it, the Macedonians fled before them, and prepared to abandon a country, to the devastation of which they saw no end. In this exigency, Antigonus added caution to courage; and his conduct saved Macedon. Careful to avoid this impetuous torrent of barbarians, he permitted them to spend their fury in wild excursion. He observed all their motions at a distance; he harassed them, as occasion offered, and he endeavoured to lead them into some of those defiles with which Macedon abounds. His plan succeeded. Intangled in the inclosures of mountains, where their exertions

¹ Just. L. xxvi. c. 2.

were confined, they found themselves suddenly surrounded by the forces of Antigonus, who had occupied all the passes. Terror and amazement seized them; whilst their distress was heightened by the bards that attended their expedition, in whose knowledge of future events they placed a superstitious and implicit faith. Possessed with gloomy apprehensions of the danger which surrounded them, with dreadful howlings, and shrieks of woe, they denounced discomfiture and death. The army caught the panic from their diviners; and, in the phrensy of despair, turning their rage on their wives and children, they slaughtered them all; and then, besmeared over with their blood, rushed on to battle. The mad onset of such a panic-struck multitude could avail but little against the regular charge and cool courage of the Macedonian line. They were accordingly cut to pieces to a man.

B O O K
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Sect. 1.

he defeats
them;

plans the re-
duction of
Greece;

besieges
Athens,

Elated with the success, which thus had crowned his arms, Antigonus looked forward with heightened confidence, and hastened to complete the reduction of the Grecian states, in which he now expected to find little difficulty. He began with the siege of Athens². That city had submitted to the arms of his father Poliorcetes; and had paid him the most servile adulation in the day of his power; but in his day of distress she had shut her gates against him. Upon this and other grounds Antigonus founded claims, which he required the Athenians to admit; whilst their more recent declaration for Pyrrhus,

² Pausan. in Laconicis.

BOOK IV. Sect. 1. to whom, during his contest with Antigonus, they had sent ambassadors, swelled the catalogue of wrongs, for which he insisted for reparation. The danger which threatened Athens, was considered as the common cause of Greece, whose fate seemed involved in the humiliation of this illustrious city. The veneration in which she was still held, co-operated with the idea of general danger, and drew aid from all parts. Areus, the Spartan king, marched in person to her assistance; and Ptolemy sent a powerful fleet, with troops, ammunition, and supplies of every kind. But, notwithstanding every exertion, Antigonus prevailed at length; and the Athenians were obliged to purchase his forgiveness by admitting a Macedonian garrison.

takes it;

is attacked at home by Alexander of Epire.

But whilst Antigonus was thus making conquests in other kingdoms, he was on the point of losing his own. Alexander of Epire, Pyrrhus's son, stimulated, it is probable, by some of the Grecian states, who thought it their safest expedient to raise enemies to Antigonus at home, had entered Macedonia. Antigonus hastened back to repel the invasion; when the whole Macedonian nation, tired of a king, whose restless ambition allowed them no respite, revolted, and, declaring for Alexander, forced Antigonus, after some fruitless efforts, to relinquish all immediate hopes of a re-establishment, and to retire to the dominions he still possessed in Greece.

and loses Macedonia.

Antigonus had a son named Demetrius, then a

Just. ubi sup.

stripling; who, unsubdued by this reverse of fortune, B O O IV. Sect. I. His son, Demetrius, recovers it for him: disdained to accompany his father in his flight, resolving either to recover the throne, which he had been taught to consider as his hereditary right, or to perish in the contest. The generous spirit of this gallant prince gained him friends: a party was formed in his favor; and so happily did he improve his opportunities, that he not only obliged Alexander to relinquish Macedon, but attacked him in Epire, and, in return, stripped him almost of *his* paternal kingdom*.

From this time Antigonus preserved Macedon till his death; but, uninstructed by his various troubles, he retained to the last his fondness for turbulent scenes. His favorite object was still the subjection of the Greek republics; and this pursuit he continued even in his most advanced age, endeavouring to accomplish by fraud and intrigue, what he could not venture to attempt by force of arms. his views on Greece;

Of this kind was the last act recorded concerning him†. The tyrant Alexander held Corinth, one of the most important places in Greece, which commanded the entrance into Peloponnesus. This prince Antigonus contrived to have taken off by poison; but his sovereignty was bequeathed to his wife Nicaea, a woman advanced in years, fond of power, and of its possession exceedingly jealous. With such a character, some extraordinary artifice attempts Corinth by artifice,

* Just. ubi sup.

† Plutarch in Arato.

BOOK IV. Sect. 1. was necessary; and Antigonus devised one. His son Demetrius, who was young and handsome, he commanded to repair to Nicaea's court, to attach himself to her person, and to offer her his hand. Nicaea's vanity favored the deception, and the marriage was accordingly solemnized, Antigonus himself honoring it with his presence.

and gets possession of it;

The principal point, nevertheless, was still to be gained; Nicaea cautiously retaining in her own power the citadel, without which the possession of Corinth was of little consequence. Antigonus, pretending to be perfectly satisfied, continued to pay her particular attention, and affected to appear in person among her retinue, whenever she chose to appear in public. It happened, one day, that a celebrated singer was to perform in the theatre, for the entertainment of Nicaea and her royal guests. Upon her setting out, Antigonus, seemingly to do her honor, attended her litter; but, having gone a little way, whilst, unsuspecting of fraud, she was proceeding towards the theatre, he slipped aside, and, proceeding hastily to the fort, either through surprise, or the treachery of the guard, he obtained admittance, and introduced a garrison of his own.

loses Corinth again:

Antigonus, however, received no lasting benefit from an acquisition purchased at the price of so much artifice. The Corinthian citadel he held only about eight years, the Achaeans wresting it then out of his hands⁶. He would not, however, have tamely resigned the hopes of repossessing a fortress, the

⁶ Polyb. L. ii. c. 43.

importance of which no man better understood; and he had even entered into alliance with the Aetolians, in order, jointly with them, to fall upon Achaia; but death⁷ put an end to all his ambitious projects, after a reign of thirty-four years, from his first acquisition of the throne of Macedon⁸. B O O K
IV.
Sect. I.
dies:

This prince, who is known in history by the name of Antigonus Gonatas⁹, was succeeded by his son Demetrius, whose reign was less active, and probably, for that very reason, less fatal to Macedon, than his father's. The wars he engaged in were few, and of short continuance. The most remarkable was against the Aetolians, whom he pretended to chastise for having invaded Acarnania, then belonging to Epire: but the Achaeans espousing their cause, Demetrius was worsted¹⁰, and prudently withdrew into Macedon. From that time he adopted a new plan of policy in relation to Greece; maintaining an interest in the different states, not by his son Demetrius succeeds:
his policy towards the Grecian states:

⁷ OLYMP. cxxxiii. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 244.

⁸ The sovereignty of certain cities of Peloponnesus he acquired ten years earlier, at the time of Poliorcetes's captivity. We hear no more of Nicaea; historians possibly thinking, with Antigonus, that she had fulfilled her destination, and was now to be thrown aside.

⁹ Whence this name, whether from the place of his birth, as some writers have imagined, though, as far as appears, without sufficient foundation; or whether from his mis-shapen knees, the word Gonatas admitting of this interpretation*, is a question of little moment. The antiquarian may consider it.

¹⁰ Polyb. L. ii. c. 44.

* See Rhodig. Lectura. Antiq. L. xxiv. c. 5.

BOOK

IV.

Sect. I.

holding the sovereignty himself, but by supporting the petty tyrants, in whose hands usurpation had placed it: so that, as appears from Polybius ¹¹, they became all his creatures, receiving his pay, and acting by his instructions. A species of power less odious than if he had held them in avowed subjection, and not less effectual.

his marriages;

Besides the old woman of Corinth, he married not only a princess of the royal house of Syria, sister to Antiochus Hierax; but afterwards, during the distress of the house of Epire, Olympias, the widow of Alexander, in the view of engaging his protection to her afflicted family, prevailed on him to marry her daughter Pthia ¹². This marriage was imprudent, and might have involved Macedon in many troubles. It was highly resented by the Syrian princess, who withdrew to Asia. And the affairs of Epire might have engaged Demetrius in measures pernicious to his own dominions; but his death ¹³, and the wisdom of his successor, prevented the consequences that might have been expected.

and death:

Antigonus
the second
succeeds:

This prince reigned only ten years; and his kinsman, Antigonus, succeeded him. Demetrius, nevertheless, had left an infant son, Philip; but the Macedonians, dreading the confusion with which a minority is often attended, and judging Antigonus to be a man of moderation, and well affected to his

¹¹ Ος ἦν ἀρχὴς, says Polybius, speaking of this Demetrius, and the tyrants of Peloponnesus of his time, εἰσὶν ἐν χερσὶν καὶ μισθοδοτοῦνται. See Polyb. Casaub. L. ii. c. 44. p. 182.

¹² Just. L. xxviii. c. 1.

¹³ OLYMP. cxxxvi. 1. BEFORE CHRIST 235.

country, placed him on the throne, and obliged him, at the same time, to take the queen-mother to wife. He justified the favorable opinion his subjects had conceived of him. He accepted of the crown as a trust he was to hold for the young prince, son to the deceased king. He bestowed the same care on him, as if he had been his own son: he designed him for his successor; and he employed his utmost attention to render him worthy of the throne he was one day to fill.

B O O K

IV.

Sect. I.

his probity;

His character as a king was not less respectable. By his equity, he gained the confidence of his neighbours; and he acquired the love of his people, by a merciful administration of justice. He was cautious not to endanger the prosperity of his kingdom by an imprudent pursuit of foreign interests, which had been too much the policy of the two last reigns; and he chose rather to forego some distant claims, than to engage the Macedonians in expensive and doubtful wars.

the wisdom
of his policy.

What rendered this happy temper of mind the more honorable, was the period in which Antigonus lived; when the turbulent state of affairs afforded the fairest opportunities to ambition; both Spartans and Achaeans endeavouring, either by force or intrigue, to bring about a revolution of government in most parts of Greece. It will be necessary to explain these matters more particularly.

State of
Greece in his
days.

Towards the end of the reign of Gonatas, considerable alterations had taken place in Peloponnesus. The republic of Achaia, which, till this period, had been contented with an unambitious

Republi
Achaia;

B O O K IV. Sect. 1. its origin
 privacy, began to assume a very different port, and seemed to have nothing less in view than the sovereignty of Greece. This republic had its first establishment in early ages, and was composed originally of twelve towns¹⁴, one of which, Helice, perished by an earthquake in the fourth year of the one hundred and first Olympiad¹⁵, and another, Olenus, was deserted and fell to ruins. The district, which these cities occupied, bordered upon the Crissaean or Corinthian gulph and the Ionian sea, extending along the coast from Sicyon to Elis. It was bounded to the south-east by Arcadia, so as to form the north-west angle of Peloponnesus; and did not much exceed fifty miles in length, and in breadth about twenty-five. The first government known among them had been, as in other parts of Greece, that of kings. But in process of time, these cities, stimulated by the oppressive excesses of their princes, threw off kingly government, and united together in one confederacy¹⁶; pledging themselves to each other to employ their joint and utmost efforts for their mutual defence. All were to have the same interests; the same friendships; the same coins, weights, and measures; the same laws; and the same magistrates. These magistrates were to be

¹⁴ We have from Polybius (L. ii. c. 41.) the names of these twelve towns, Patrae, Dymé, Pharae, Tritaea, Leontium, Aegira, Pellene, Aegium, Bura, Ceraunia, (or rather Carynea) Olenus, and Helice.

¹⁵ A short time before the battle of Leuctra. See Polyb. ubi sup. See also Pausan. in Achaicis.

¹⁶ See Polyb. L. ii. c. 37.

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Sect. I.

national assembly.

General of Achaia;

demiurgi;

scribe;

elected annually by the majority of the suffrages of the whole community. Twice every year, at spring and autumn, or oftener, if any great emergency required it, a general assembly was to be held, in which every matter of legislation and national concern was determined by a plurality of voices. This assembly consisted of deputies from the respective cities, chosen by plurality of voices. The magistrates, in whose hands the supreme executive power was lodged, were styled Generals¹⁷ of the States of Achaia; and to them the military department, and the right of presidency in the national assembly, belonged. These generals originally were two; but, the Achaeans finding the inconveniencies which in many cases attended a divided authority, reduced them to one. Assistant to the general were the demiurgi, or council of ten, whose office it was to advise with the general, and probably to stand as a barrier between him and the people, should he attempt to act in an arbitrary manner¹⁸. It was their province also to examine all matters intended to be laid before the popular assembly; and to propose them, if they appeared conducive to the public happiness; otherwise to reject them. Polybius mentions another officer, the scribe of Achaia; whose department seems to have been chiefly of a civil nature; perhaps not unlike that of the Greffier of Holland, and to him, perhaps, were the archives of

¹⁷ Στρατηγοί. — See Polyb. L. ii. c. 42 & passim.

¹⁸ Δημιουργοί — See Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. xlvii. p. 1200.—

The title Demiurgi seems to imply Agents of the people,

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how elected.

the nation, and the preparing and expediting of all public instruments intrusted.

These state-officers were not only elected annually, but it was also rule, especially in later times of the republic, not to re-elect the same person two years successively, unless some very important consideration made an exception necessary or prudent. It appears probable, likewise, from Polybius, that, by the original constitution, these great magistrates were to be chosen out of the different towns of Achaia by rotation; though there is reason to believe, that this regulation was not always observed. Besides these superior magistrates, every town had also its municipal magistracy; and it is not unlikely, as some have conjectured, that these municipal establishments throughout Achaia were counterparts of the national polity; consisting, in the same manner, of a popular assembly, a council, and a presiding magistrate.

Obscurity of
the Achæan
states for
some ages:

What their laws were, we know but imperfectly; owing probably to the obscurity in which they lived, during the earlier ages of Achaia; secluded in a remote corner from the other Greek nations, with whom, from the principles of their constitution, they could not cultivate a close connexion, and, from their poverty and simplicity of life, had scarcely any intercourse. The country of Achaia, besides, rugged, barren, and without the elegancies to be met with in other parts of Greece, had nothing to attract the curious traveller; and, although situated along the sea-coast, it derived from thence but little advantage; the rocks, with which its

coast were begirt, rendering the approach exceedingly dangerous. B O O K
IV.

So far from taking part, therefore, in those achievements of the great commonwealths of Greece, which are now the ornament of ancient story, the first battle in which they engaged in behalf of the Grecian liberties, was that of Chaeronea. And when the Greeks marched to Thermopylae, to oppose the Gauls, the Achaeans, anxious merely for their little territory, contented themselves with assisting to block up the pass of the isthmus; the Achaeans of Patrae alone¹⁹ passing over to the aid of the Aetolians, to oppose the detachment from the army of Brennus, which, as we have seen, broke into Aetolia, and sacked Callion. Sect. 1.

The few laws, however, which have reached us, stand as monuments of their wisdom.

“No individual, nor town, belonging to the Achaean body, were to accept of any gratification²⁰ whatsoever, in their public or private capacity, from prince or people, under the penalty of being cut off from the commonwealth of Achaia²¹.” The most remarkable of their laws.

“No member of the Achaean league was to send any embassy to, or contract alliance or friendship with, any prince or people, without the privity and approbation of the whole Achaean confederacy²¹.” — This law seems to have been the corner-stone of the Achaean fabric; and all the members were bound of the observation of it.

¹⁹ Pausan. in Phocicis.

²⁰ Polyb. Excerpt Legat. xli. p. 1181.

²¹ Polyb. L. iv. c. 9.

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“ The admission of any prince, state, or city,
 “ into the Achaean confederacy, was not to have
 “ place, unless all the members of the confederacy
 “ had consented there to ²². ”

“ An extraordinary convention of the national
 “ assembly was not to be granted at the request of the
 “ ambassador of any foreign potentate, unless the
 “ matters to be offered to such assembly were first
 “ delivered to the general of Achaia and the council
 “ of ten, in writing, and pronounced by them to
 “ be of sufficient importance ²³. ”

“ The deliberations of every assembly were to be
 “ confined altogether to the matter, on account of
 “ which the assembly had been convened ²⁴. ”

“ In all debates, those who had spoken, were to
 “ deliver a short draught of the arguments they had
 “ employed, in order to be considered the ensuing
 “ day; and within the third day, at farthest, was
 “ the business in question to be finally determined:
 “ no debate being permitted to continue beyond
 “ three days ²⁵. ”

But, whatever their system of laws may have
 been, of which a very incomplete idea is now to be
 had, it is certain, that the equity and humane spirit
 of their civil constitution, supported by their sim-
 plicity of manners and unblemished faith, made them
 at length so much the admiration of the adjoining

²² Polyb. ubi sup. & passim.

²³ Polyb. Excerpt. Legat. xli. p. 1185. & xlvii. 1200.

²⁴ Polyb. ubi sup.

²⁵ Liv. L. xxxii. c. 23. — See also Ubbo. Vet. Graec.
 tom. iii. p. 274 & seq.

nations,

nations, that to their arbitration the proudest of their neighbours referred their differences. The Thebans and the Spartans, after the battle of Leuctra, as Polybius ²⁶ informs us, submitted to their decision all matters in dispute between them; and even the Greek cities of Italy, when, harassed with repeated insurrections, occasioned by the overthrowing of the Pythagorean schools, they were in danger of a total dissolution of government, applied to them for advice, in what manner to amend their political establishments; and found effectual relief, by adopting the plan which they prescribed.

In the meridian of the power of Antipater, and the Macedonian princes that succeeded him, the Achaeans had their full share of the despotism, which afflicted Greece during that wretched period: the shadow of their commonwealth hardly remained; most of their members, at the instigation of Macedonian agents, having deserted the national league, and fallen under the dominion of various tyrants.

But the distracted state of Macedon under Lysimachus and Ptolemy Ceraunus proving favorable to the Achaeans, some of their towns improved the opportunity, and restored again the ancient form of government. Patrae and Dymé led the way; and they were immediately joined by Tritaea and Pharae. The rest, who still continued under the yoke of tyranny, followed by degrees the example; some by persuasion, and some by compulsion, prevail-

²⁶ See Polyb. L. ii. c. 39. p. 175, 176.

B O O K ing with their tyrants to abdicate their usurped
 IV. government²⁷.

Sect. I. Such, during more than twenty years of the reign of Antigonus Gonatas, was the situation of the Achaeans; recovering slowly from the shock they had lately sustained. Their towns were small and ill-peopled, their territory narrow and unfertile, and

²⁷ It appears from Polybius (L. ii. c. 41.) that the Achaeans had erected a pillar (no unusual memorial in ancient days) on which were inscribed the names of the several cities, which had from time to time been incorporated into the republic of Achaia; the names of those four cities, Patrae, Dymé, Tritaea, and Pharae, which had been the original institutors, or rather re-establishers, of the Achaean confederacy, excepted. This honor, of being considered as the founders of the state, was the only *peculiar honor* these four cities enjoyed. It being a constitutional maxim with this illustrious commonwealth, that whatever city, state, or people, were adopted into it, became, immediately upon their admission, invested with all the rights and privileges which the other more ancient members of this republic enjoyed, without the least mark of inferiority or dependence. And to this generous spirit of equality, and humanity of its institutions, *ισότητι καὶ Φιλανθρωπία*, Polybius (L. ii. c. 38.) ascribes that compact union and stability, which gave to the Achaean form the advantage over all the other republican establishments throughout this part of Greece, even, according to that historian, over the Spartan itself.

The restoration of the association of the Achaean cities took place in the 124th Olympiad, the same year in which Lyfmachus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy Ceraunus, were slain, and Pyrrhus of Epirus passed into Italy to the aid of the Tarentines. The embarrassed state of Macedon, and the adjacent countries, during this period, together with the foreign wars Pyrrhus was employed in, gave to these Peloponnesians the opportunity of recovering their liberties.

their coasts harbourless and impracticable. So circumstanced, they seemed to wish for nothing more than to be permitted to enjoy an humble independence; when Aratus appeared²², who was to give the highest finishing to this seemingly-inconsiderable republic.

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Sect. I.

Aratus appears;

This extraordinary personage was by birth of Sicyon. And the first sentiments, of which his mind seems to have been susceptible, were an enthusiastic love of liberty, and an invincible abhorrence of tyrants. The earliest ideas he had received led to the forming of these impressions; and every circumstance, as he grew up, contributed to strengthen them. His father Clinias, who held a distinguished rank among the Sicyonians, had been murdered by Abantidas, tyrant of Sicyon; most of the Grecian cities being then under tyrannical dependents of the Macedonian king. The spirit of freedom which marked the character of Clinias, had rendered him obnoxious; and the tyrant, who resolved the destruction of his whole family, had ordered, that Aratus, then but seven years old, should be murdered also. But whilst the tyrant's instruments were employed in the assassination of his father, he escaped unobserved amidst the confusion occasioned by the bloody business; and, not knowing where to find an asylum, strayed by chance into the house of Soso, sister to Abantidas. Amazed at seeing him, it struck her mind, that the gods themselves must have conducted him thither.

wonderful
preservation;

²² See Plutarch in Arato. Polyb. L. ii. c. 43. & passim, Pausan. in Corinthiacis.

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Sect. 1.

And her superstition did what her humanity would not have done. She looked upon herself as called upon by divine command to provide for the child's preservation ; and , having concealed him until night , she sent him off to Argos.

There his father's friends took care of Aratus : they educated him suitably to his birth ; and he soon showed that he was not unworthy of the attention bestowed upon him. For he had not yet reached his twentieth year , when , fired with the thoughts of revenging his father's blood , and the wrongs of his country , he determined to return to Sicyon. Abantidas was no more. But , as in these days tyrant succeeded tyrant , Nicocles filled his place , and held the city in subjection. Alarmed at the accounts brought him of Aratus , his spies had directions to observe all his motions. Aratus , nevertheless , conducted his plans with all that subtilty of address and intrigue for which his natural genius , improved by the circumstances of his life , had so admirably fitted him : he eluded all the tyrant's machinations , and not only made himself master of Sicyon , but would have surpris'd Nicocles himself , had not his guilty fears previously suggested to him the precaution of preparing a subterranean passage against the hour of danger ; through which he made his escape.

relieves his
native city
Sicyon from
tyrants :

strengthens
himself
against the
creatures of
the late ty-
rants ,

Sicyon was now restored to her liberties ; but she was nevertheless still encompassed with enemies. The surprise of Corinth by Antigonus , which had lately taken place , showed Aratus what he had to fear from that quarter. Various kinds of tyranny

prevailed at the same time in most of the neighbouring cities. And even in Sicyon the creatures of the late tyrants, either from corrupt views or a consciousness of guilt, were still unfriendly to the cause of liberty, and hated the assertor of it. Against these dangers Aratus saw no resource more effectual than the friendship of the Achaeans, who bordered on the Sicyonian territory, and, though yet of small account, were the only people of Peloponnesus, in whose breasts the spirit of freedom glowed. To incorporate the Sicyonians with this republic, was his great object. Achaia and Sicyon entered into his views; they embraced with eagerness the proposal: and the Sicyonians were admitted accordingly into the Achaean body.

and associates
Sicyon to
Achaia.

Something was yet wanting to the peace of Sicyon. Five hundred and eighty of its citizens had been driven into exile during the late disastrous times, and, though recalled to their native home, they had still to encounter all the distresses of indigence; their landed property having, in a course of years, passed through different hands; and many of those, in whose possession it then was, holding it by legal titles.

Confused
state of pro-
perty at Si-
cyon,

How to relieve this numerous body of claimants, so justly the objects of public compassion, was difficult. A general act of resumption had been an act of cruelty, injustice, and violence; and, if attempted, might have brought on commotions not to be easily pacified. Aratus, ever ardently anxious for the general good, determined to apply for aid to his friend Ptolemy Philadelphus; that prince, who was

settled by
the wisdom

B O O K an admirer of the fine arts, having often employed
IV. Aratus to collect for him the paintings of the great
Sect. I. masters of Greece, in which Sicyon is said to have
 abounded; the Sicyonian school having been in the
 highest repute for several ages. That he might plead
 his cause the more forcibly, Aratus set off in person
 for the Egyptian court. Ptolemy generously com-
 plied with Aratus's request, and furnished him with
 sums of money sufficient for his purpose. In the admi-
 nistration of which trust he proceeded with such
 wisdom, and strict observance of equity, that the
 old proprietors, and the new possessors, were equally
 well satisfied with his conduct: a transaction which
 completed the settlement of Sicyon, and gave to
 Aratus a stronger interest than ever in the affections
 of his fellow-citizens.

and probity
 of Aratus.

Aratus chosen
 general of
 Achaia;

The abilities and liberal spirit, which Aratus had
 shown on this occasion, drew on him the attention
 of all this part of Greece. The Achaean states in
 particular considered him as an important acqui-
 sition, and advanced him to the highest honors their
 commonwealth had to bestow. The ensuing year he
 was elected general of Achaia.

Success enlarged his views. The power of the
 Macedonian king in Peloponnesus was at this time
 exceedingly formidable; and his possessions were
 extensive. The petty sovereigns, at the same time,
 of the several cities were almost without exception
 his vassals: subsisting by his protection, and subser-
 vient to his commands. It was easy to perceive, that
 a prince thus circumstanced, whose schemes were
 directed to give law to Greece, would not long

suffer Achaia to remain undisturbed. Aratus conceived the bold thought of overthrowing this dangerous plan of empire. Corinth, the key to the whole peninsula, was then held by Antigonus: and Aratus determined to try whether he could not effect the re-establishment of the Corinthian liberties, in the same manner he had re-established those of Sicyon. The opinion entertained of the natural strength of the Corinthian citadel; the confidence of the garrison; and the improbability of such an attack coming from so feeble a hand; contributed all to the success of Aratus. He made the attempt in the night; he scaled the walls by ladders, with only a hundred men, the rest being ordered to follow another way. He was already in the city, and had nearly gained the ascent to the citadel, before he was discovered. His falling in accidentally with the guard, patrolling the streets, gave the first alarm to the Macedonians. They would then have resisted. But Aratus had disposed his different parties in so advantageous a manner, and was so seasonably supported by those who were to co-operate from without, that, when morning appeared, the garrison, defeated on all sides, were forced to abandon the place.

The same generous temper of mind which he had shown in the delivering of Sicyon, marked also his conduct to the Corinthians. He caused them to assemble in the theatre; when, after addressing them in a manner suitable to the great event, he opened to them the motives by which he had been influenced: "his zeal for the independence of his

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Sect. I.

and incorpo-
rates the Co-
rinthians
among the
Achaean
states :

“ country, and the hopes he had entertained of form-
ing an effectual barrier against the Macedonian
king, the sworn enemy of the Grecian liberties;”
he concluded by presenting them with the keys of
their citadel, of which they had not been in pos-
session since the days of Philip of Macedon; and
invited them, at the same time, to accede to the
Achaean league, as the best measure for securing
what they had now recovered. They answered him
with loud acclamations of joy, hailing him their
deliverer, and expressing their grateful acceptance
of the offer he had made. So that Aratus not only
had the praise of having given liberty to a people
long humbled under the yoke of oppression, but the
glory also of having added considerably to the
importance of the Achaean states; who thus saw one
of the most illustrious of the Grecian cities enrolled
among them²⁹.

This expulsion of the Macedonians from Corinth
happened about eight years after the revolution at
Sicyon; Aratus being then for the second time
general of Achaia.

One circumstance in the conduct of Aratus, on
this occasion, deserves to be particularly mentioned.
In order to procure proper intelligence, it was expe-
dient to bribe certain persons, who had connexions in
Corinth, for which purpose a considerable sum of
money was necessary³⁰. Aratus knew the low state
of the Achaean finances, and he knew also how

his genero-
sity on this
occasion.

²⁹ See Polyb. L. ii. c. 43.

³⁰ Sixty talents, according to Plutarch; (between eleven
and twelve thousand pounds).

much the success of his enterprise depended upon secrecy; he would not therefore seek for resources in the assistance of his friends, whose suspicions or indiscretion might have betrayed his purpose; but raised the money privately on his own account, pledging for it his plate and the jewels of his wife. Such, observes the historian³¹, was the passion of this spirited Greek for gallant achievements, that he endeavoured not only to vie with Phocion and Epaminondas, who were accounted the most excellent of all the Greeks, in not sacrificing virtue to money: he ascended a step higher: he parted privately with his own property, in the cause of those who were not even apprized of his generous intentions: he embarked his estate in an enterprise, wherein he alone was to expose himself for his fellow-citizens: he purchased great danger at great expense: he hazarded his fortune and his life for the glory of advancing the prosperity of his country.

This exploit, which, according to Plutarch, is one of the greatest recorded in history, and the last, he thinks, which the Greeks have to boast of, led the way to important alterations. The people of Megara, though on the other side of the Corinthian isthmus, renounced the alliance of Macedon, and joined the Achaeans. The cities of Troezene, Epidaurus, and Cleonae, on the eastern coast of Peloponnesus, followed the example. The spirit of liberty caught even Lyfiades, the tyrant of Megalo-

Other cities
join the
Achaeans.

³¹ See Plutarch in Arato.

B O O K polis; who of his own accord abdicated the fover-
 IV. eignty, and applied to be admitted into the Achaean
 Sect. I. league.

The alertness
 of Aratus;

Amidst these extraordinary revolutions died Antigonus Gonatas, about two years after his losing Corinth, being succeeded, as we have seen, by his son Demetrius. Aratus continued his active exertions. He again attempted Athens, which he had formerly attacked in the days of Antigonus; and, though now a second time repulsed by the Macedonians, whose strength was considerable in those parts, he was not discouraged. For when Demetrius invaded Aetolia, he immediately took the field, and joined the Aetolians, notwithstanding those people had lately broken into Achaia, and committed severe depredations. The consequence of this junction was the defeat of Demetrius; who thereupon abandoned the war, and retired to his own kingdom. This was the last excursion Demetrius ventured to make into the southern parts of Greece, whether employed at home against the barbarian nations, who are said to have infested his frontiers; or whether, as it is most likely, he was unwilling again to try the decision of arms with the Achaeans, who were now become exceedingly formidable. Aratus certainly appears to have been the enemy he dreaded most: for when tidings were brought to Macedon, that he had been taken prisoner in one of his inroads into Attica, he immediately dispatched a vessel to Athens, with orders that he should be sent to him in chains. And though he kept within his own kingdom, he spared neither treasure nor

intrigue to support, as his father had done before, the petty tyrants of Peloponnesus, whose only merit was their enmity to Aratus.

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The curious account history gives us of the tyrant of Argos, whose trusty friend Antigonus Gonatas had professed himself, and whose character, as may be gathered both from Polybius and Plutarch, seems, in part at least, to have been applicable to the several Peloponnesian tyrants of those days, may serve to show what wretched instruments the kings of Macedon had the meanness to employ.

General cha-
racter of the
Grecian
tyrants of
those days ;

“ This tyrant (whose name was Aristippus) who
“ had Antigonus for his ally, who had a numerous
“ body-guard, and who had not suffered one man
“ in Argos to live, whom he thought his enemy,
“ would not permit his guards to do duty within
“ the palace, but only around it. When supper
“ was over, he dismissed all his servants, making
“ fast the door of the hall himself, and with his
“ mistress ascended by a trap-door into a small
“ chamber above. Upon that door his bed was
“ placed, and there he slept, as a person in his
“ anxious state may be supposed to sleep. The
“ ladder by which he ascended, his mistress’s mother
“ removed, and secured it in another room till
“ morning, when she brought it again, and called
“ up this wonderful prince, who crept like a reptile
“ from his hole!”

particularly of
Aristippus,
tyrant of
Argos.

“ This manner of life,” continues the historian,
“ was Aristippus under the necessity of leading; thus
“ it was he enjoyed that pomp of despotic love-

B O O K “reignty, which is generally so much envied and
IV. “admired as the pinnacle of human happiness”.”

Sect. I. The change, which now took place in the affairs of Macedon, opened an extensive field to the enterprising genius of Aratus. Antigonus the second, who, as we have seen, had ascended the throne on the death of Demetrius, employed himself at home in remedying the many internal evils, to which the mistaken counsels of Gonatas and his son had given rise, and seemed to look on the transactions of the more remote states of Greece with an eye of indifference. Relieved, therefore, from the obstructions he had hitherto experienced, Aratus hastened to improve the opportunity. He renewed the attempt on Athens, where there still was a strong garrison; but it was discovered, that the governor, who had no longer the same attachment to the court of Macedon, was not incorruptible: and Aratus offered him his price. The sum stipulated was a hundred and fifty talents (near thirty thousand pounds) of which Aratus, who valued no expense, when the purchase was the liberties of his country, paid twenty himself. The forts were accordingly surrendered into the hands of the Athenians; and Athens was incorporated among the states of Achaia.

Aratus purchases liberty
to Athens,

though ill-
treated by
them:

There was something peculiarly noble in the conduct of Aratus upon this occasion. In one of the preceding attacks on the Macedonian garrison at Athens, a report had prevailed, that he was slain. Immediately the Athenians, in servile adulation

³¹ Plutarch in Arato.

to their Macedonian masters, put on garlands of flowers, and broke out into the most illiberal expressions of joy: but Aratus was above resenting the poor insult. He left them to learn, from his example, what their sentiments ought to have been.

He then tried what could be done at Argos; which he had often attempted before, but without success; so strenuous, till then, had Macedon been in supporting the tyrants of that city: but Aristomachus, who now held the sovereignty, finding that dependence could no longer be placed on assistance from Macedon, gladly accepted terms, and, having abdicated, was received into the Achaean confederacy.

Intimidated by these examples, the petty tyrants around soon dropped all opposition. Hardly one of the adjoining states remained inimical or independent: all entered either into alliance with the Achaeans, or fell under their subjection. The people of Phlius and Hermione, in the neighbourhood of Argos, and of Aegina in the Saronic gulph, declared in their favor; the greater part of Arcadia paid them contributions; the Aetolians as well as the Spartans were their allies; and the king of Egypt himself, the first in power of all the princes of those days, accepted the title of protector of the liberties of Achaia. As an enemy to the Macedonian kings, he saw with pleasure the Achaeans strengthening themselves against them; and he engaged to support them in the possession of their just rights, should his assistance at any time be necessary.

In this respectable situation were the Achaean affairs during the first years of the reign of the

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and restores
Argos to her
liberties.

Flourishing
condition of
Achaia at this
period.

Probable con-
sequences to
Greece, had

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Achaia con-
tinued to
flourish.

second Antigonus. And, could this noble fabric of liberty have retained that solidity and compactness, which it seems to have had at this period, Greece might probably have bidden defiance to the various enemies who successively rose up against her.

But, to these fair appearances a very different scene soon succeeded. Such being the instability of human councils, that those, whose unanimity and virtuous spirit of freedom had framed this noble establishment, became now the very persons whose selfish ambition, jealousies, and dissensions, wrought its overthrow.

A more important and instructive portion of history is not to be met with in the Grecian annals. It will be necessary to unfold the various events, which led to this catastrophe.

B O O K IV.

S E C T I O N II.

C O N T E N T S.

The Aetolians — their character — jealous of Achaia — excite Cleomenes, king of Sparta, against the Achaeans — character of Cleomenes — his abilities and success — the Achaeans distressed by Cleomenes — call in the aid of Antigonus king of Macedon — Antigonus marches against Cleomenes — defeats him — Cleomenes escapes to Egypt — Antigonus returns to Macedon — fights the barbarians — obtains a complete victory — dies — his character.

THE Aetolians were a people situated on the B O O K
 Ionian sea, to the north-west of the isthmus of Corinth, IV.
 in that small angle of country opposite to Achaia, Sect. 2.
 and divided from it by the Corinthian gulph; The Aetolians;
 bounded by Acarnania to the north, the Locri
 Ozolae to the east, and stretching to the north-east
 as far as the mountains of Thessaly; their whole
 extent of territory being about fifty miles from north
 to south, not above twenty miles from east to west, their situation;
 and in some places scarcely ten. Their state, like
 that of Achaia, was composed of a number of con-
 federate towns, formerly independent of each other
 but induced to unite from a dread of the Macedonian
 power, in the days of Philip the son of Amyntas. polity;
 Their polity, in many respects, bore a near resem-

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character;

jealous of the
Achaeans;excite the
Spartans
against them.Cleomenes
king of Sparta,

his character.

blance to that of the Achaeans. They had been from early times inured to arms, which were, indeed, the principal object of their attention. Their country, mostly mountainous, affording them but a scanty subsistence; so that they owed their chief support to the descents they made into the adjacent lands, where, sweeping away whatever plunder they could seize, they rushed back with impetuosity to their strong-holds and mountain-fastnesses; whose situation, scarcely accessible without a guide, baffled all pursuit. Suitable to this mode of life were their manners; warlike, fierce, impetuous, insolent. Though at this time in alliance with Achaia, they saw with indignation a people noway superior to themselves, whom they had often plundered with impunity, and whose establishment, laws, and situation, so nearly resembled their own, taking the lead both in council and in arms, and bearing off the prize of empire, which, in their own idea, they might themselves have so justly claimed¹. They endeavoured to inspire the Spartans with similar thoughts; and the Spartans were but too ready to listen to their suggestions.

Cleomenes was now seated on the Spartan throne, whose misfortune it was, that even his virtues were to be fatal to his country. To an uncommon share of understanding, this extraordinary prince joined great integrity of heart, martial spirit, and an ardent love of glory. But, too eager in the pursuit of his

¹ See Polyb. L. ii. c. 45, & L. ix. c. 32 & passim. Pausan. in Achaicis. Plutarch in Cleomene & Arato.

favorite

favorite object, his rapid mind often overlooked the inexpediency of the means he was to use; and he sacrificed to ambition, the prosperity of a people whose happiness he thought he was consulting.

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Sect. 2.

State of Sparta
at this period;

The times, in which he lived, were very different from those which the illustrious commonwealth of Lacedemon had once known: to that poverty and hardy discipline, which had formed the sinews of her strength, had succeeded excessive opulence, and an abandoned voluptuousness of manners. Some even of their kings were not ashamed to encourage the general profligacy by their edicts, as well as by their example. Areus, and his son Acrotatus², as if seeking to relieve their citizens from all restraints whatsoever, had discountenanced the public meals, that last pledge of Spartan frugality and temperance. Acrotatus lived, at the same time, in the face of his country, in open adultery with the wife of Cleonymus, his father's uncle: and when he had, in consequence of this scandalous amour, involved his fellow-citizens with Pyrrhus of Epirus³, they gave a strong proof of the degenerate tameness of Spartan manners; they punished not the guilty cause of an unjust and unnecessary war. One or two of the Spartan princes, it must be allowed, had, at different times, attempted to stem the torrent of public corruption; yet had the attempt always proved abortive; deposition, banishment, and even death, having been the only recompence of their exalted virtue.

from what
causes.Agis king of
Sparta,

² See Athenae. Deipnosoph. Casaub. L. iv. 71.

³ See book iii. sect. 2.

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Such, when Cleomenes appeared, was the state of Sparta; and he himself had been eye-witness of a very affecting instance of the depravity of his countrymen. His father Leonidas had reigned with Agis; Leonidas of the elder branch, Agis of the younger. Leonidas was son to that Cleonymus, whose wife Chelidonis Acrotatus had seduced; and, upon the death of the son of Acrotatus, had mounted the throne. Agis, who had succeeded his father Eudamidas, was the sixth in descent from the famous Agefilaus, and a near kinsman of that Agis, who fell in battle against Antipater, fighting for the liberties of his country.

his virtuous
designs;

Agis*, who was himself of unblemished manners, and animated with a sincere zeal for the prosperity of Sparta, saw with deep concern the breaches which avarice, luxury, and ambition, had made in the constitution of his country. The laws of Lycurgus were totally disregarded; the lands were all in the possession of a few families, who rioted in opulence; whilst the rest of the Spartans, despoiled of their patrimony, dragged on a wretched life in indigence and humiliation. To these distresses, this prince resolved to apply the natural remedy, which the institutions of Lycurgus prescribed; and, in obedience to the original appointment of that great law-giver, he determined to enforce the sumptuary laws, to cancel all debts, and to make a new division of lands. This resolution was the more singular, and worthy of praise, as he had been educated in the

disinterested-
ness;

* See Plutarch in Agide.

midst of delicacy and affluence; whilst the private estates of his own family were among the greatest in Sparta. But, regardless of private interest, he pursued his plan; and, in the high fervor of youth (for he was aged but twenty years) warm in the cause of virtue, this generous prince thought he should find little difficulty in accomplishing a reformation, which was solicited by so many affecting considerations of justice and of national benefit.

He proved to be mistaken. The greater number of the monied men and proprietors of lands, together with most of the Spartan ladies, who, by the new regulations, were to lose all their wealth and articles of vanity, seeing their dearest concerns in danger, opposed him vigorously. His colleague Leonidas, whilst his father was a fugitive abroad, had spent several years at the court of Seleucus, where he was accustomed to Asiatic luxury and magnificence; he had therefore no great esteem for the Lycurgic life, and joined heartily in the opposition; which was besides supported by the whole body of the Ephori, whom the faction of the rich had secured in their interests. For some time, however, Agis and his party prevailed. He had given the strongest proof of his own integrity, by throwing all his landed property, with his whole personal fortune, amounting to six hundred talents, into the national stock. And, induced by this example, some of the first men in Sparta had acted in the same manner. The refractory Ephori had been deposed; and Leonidas himself, who had persisted in rejecting every mode of reformation, having been impeached of certain violations of the

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re-establishes
the laws of
Lycurgus.

Opposite
party prevail
again.

Cleombrotus
banished.

constitution, which rendered him incapable of reigning', had been divested of the regal dignity, and his son-in-law Cleombrotus, a prince of unquestionable worth, appointed in his room.

But this gleam of success was of short continuance. Some of those, who had a principal share in the councils of Agis, but strangers to his probity, were guilty of interested, unjustifiable, and violent practices. By cancelling all bonds for debt, they got themselves acquitted of what they owed; but, endeavouring then to evade the partition of lands, an insurrection ensued; which the party in opposition taking advantage of, Leonidas was restored. He returned with all the resentments of a tyrant, who had just recovered the power of which he had been despoiled; and he openly avowed his vindictive and sanguinary purposes. The life of Cleombrotus was with difficulty spared, at the intercession of his wife Chelonis 'the daughter of Leonidas, on condition

' He had taken up his residence in foreign parts, before he came to the crown; and he had married a foreign wife.

' This amiable princess, though the daughter of a flagitious tyrant, appears to have been a pattern both of filial and of conjugal piety. The following account of her has been preserved to us by Plutarch, and may be considered as a valuable monument of ancient manners. Leonidas having been deposed, she refused the rank to which the promotion of her husband Cleombrotus had raised her, but, putting on mourning, accompanied her farther into exile. Upon his restoration, and Cleombrotus's life being in danger, she returned back to her husband, and shared in his distresses; and at last was found by Leonidas, and his ministers of violence, in the temple of Neptune, where Cleombrotus had taken sanctuary, sitting by him in the squalid habit of a suppliant, her arms folded around

of his going into banishment. But to Agis no mercy was to be shown. His popularity, his abilities, his virtues, pleaded too powerfully against him; and it was determined, that his fate should deter future patriots from the like daring innovations.

him, with her two children, one on each side: When, addressing her father; "It was not for Cleombrotus", said she, "that this garb of woe was first put on by me; neither was it for him that these tears first began to flow. My sorrows had their beginning with your misfortunes: nor from that time have they ever ceased to be my portion. You are now victorious over your enemies, and are again in possession of the throne of Sparta: must I never henceforth still continue to wear these weeds of affliction? or shall I array myself in festive ornaments, when the husband of my youth, the husband you gave to me, is doomed to be the victim of your vengeance?— If, however, neither my tears, nor the tears of these little innocents, have the power of moving you, more severe will Cleombrotus's punishment be, than even you wish it— he shall see his beloved wife die before him. For how shall I endure to live, under the reproach of having had my supplications rejected both by my husband and by my father? a wretched wife! a wretched daughter! — Whatever plea the unhappy Cleombrotus might have had to offer in his justification, I have already in some measure destroyed the force of it, by avowing your cause in prejudice to his. But, indeed, you yourself, by this inexorable cruelty, plead his apology; and show how powerful a temptation a crown is, when the blood of a son-in-law must be shed, and a daughter abandoned, for the sake of it." — So saying, she leaned her face against her husband's cheek, turning her dimmed and streaming eyes on the crowd around her. Every heart melted. Even Leonidas was overcome: "Rise," said he to Cleombrotus, "and get thou into exile." — "And as for thee, Chelonis," continued he, "repay to thy father the kindness he has shown in giving thee thy husband's life, and

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Agis betrayed.

Overpowered by the triumphant faction, this unhappy prince had taken refuge in the temple of Minerva Chalcioecos⁷, from whence he never ventured, unless to the bath; and then was guarded by a band of friends, in whose firm attachment he had placed an entire confidence. But, seduced at length by the tempting offers of Leonidas, to whom the basest means were honorable, these infamous friends consented to become his betrayers, and perfidiously delivered him into the hands of Leonidas.

No sooner was the person of Agis thus treacherously in the tyrant's power, than he convened a packed council of the Ephori, and of his most devoted partisans. The show of a judicial inquiry was resolved upon; and this unfortunate prince was arraigned before a tribunal predetermined to destroy him. On this occasion, however, he appears to have assumed a firmness not natural to him; his usual manner being rather gentle and diffident. He beheld his pretended judges with indignation and scorn; and, when charged by them with a design of altering the government, he boldly declared that he had formed the resolution from the fullest conviction of the

“ remain with me.” — Chelonis, notwithstanding, would not be persuaded. But, her husband rising from the ground, she put one child in his arms, and took the other herself, and, after paying due homage at the altar, where they had taken sanctuary, went with him into banishment.

⁷ *Minerva of the brazen temple.* This temple, as appears from Pausanias (in Laconicis) stood on an eminence the highest in Sparta, and seems to have been a kind of strong hold. And thence probably the name *πολιούχος*, *guardian of the city*, which, he tells us, was given to this Minerva.

indispensable obligations he was under, a resolution, he told them, he never should repent of, "to restore the laws of Lycurgus to their ancient vigor, and to make those laws the sole rule of his administration." Unable to humble him to any act of abjectness, they hastened to relieve themselves from the presence of a man whose superiority they could not but feel; they ordered him to be dragged away and strangled. Yet did they find it difficult to get these orders obeyed; the common officers of justice, and even the mercenary soldiers, refusing to be concerned in the execution of the unjust sentence. At length Demochares, one of those perfidious friends who had betrayed his master, laying hands on him, dragged him into the dungeon, where he was immediately executed. B O O K
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To make the vengeance of the party more complete, his mother Agesistrata, and grandmother Archidamia, were also involved in the same destruction, with aggravated circumstances of uncommon barbarity. These ladies were held in the highest veneration in Sparta, not merely on account of their rank, but for their amiable manners and irreproachable lives. Upon hearing of the detention of Agis, they had hurried away to the prison, in order to employ their intercessions in his favor; when Amphares, another of the perfidious friends of this unfortunate prince, coming out, assured them that Agis was safe, and invited them to go in and satisfy themselves of his situation. He accordingly introduced them into the dreadful place, where lay the lifeless corpse of the unhappy Agis; and put to death.

Cruel fate of his mother and grandmother.

B O O K when, after enjoying their distress at this fight of
 IV. horror, the inhuman villain ordered them to be
 Sect. 2. seized and strangled.

If any thing could be wanting to excite in us the strongest detestation of so extraordinary a wretch, there is a circumstance of still greater ingratitude, mentioned by Plutarch*. Amphares had been much indebted to the generosity of Agesistrata, who, being possessed of great wealth, had often bountifully assisted him in his distress; and the expectation of being acquitted of what he owed to her, Plutarch thinks, with good reason, was one of the motives that urged him to the perpetration of the horrid deed.

The effect of
 these events
 on the mind
 of Cleomenes:

Cleomenes was very young when these things happened, and had but an imperfect knowledge of this affecting story; for a time, therefore, he had attended to it but slightly; it soon, however, made a very different impression upon him*. Compelled by his father's orders, he had married Agiatis, who had already been wedded to Archidamus, Agis's brother, now a proscribed exile. She was considerably older than Cleomenes; and being besides, as may naturally be conceived, strongly prepossessed against Leonidas and all his race, she had yielded to this second marriage with great reluctance. But the rich inheritance, to which she was entitled (for she was the only child of one of the wealthiest men in Sparta) had tempted Leonidas; and his commands were not to be disobeyed. By degrees, the inge-

* In Agide.

* See Plutarch in Cleomene.

nuous disposition and generous deportment of the young prince, and, on her part, the most amiable sweetness of temper and elegance of mind, reconciled and endeared them to each other; a confidence, which knew no reserve, grew up between them. He often found her bathed in tears at the recollection of Agis and his fortunes; and, anxious to know the cause, would listen eagerly to the tale of woe; inquiring minutely, what were the manners of Agis; what his motives; his plan; in what manner he had been betrayed; and how he had fallen. At the melancholy recital of these particulars, he was wont to mix his tears with hers, admiring the public spirit and exalted purposes of that excellent prince, and wishing he could have the glory to resemble him. With these sentiments, which he carefully disguised whilst his father lived, had Cleomenes ascended the throne.

At his accession, he found not only the internal constitution of Sparta, but the whole system of Spartan affairs, in a ruinous and perplexed condition. The domestic distress in which the disuse of the laws of Lycurgus had involved most of the Spartan families, with that despondent imbecility of spirit, which generally accompanies such distress, had caused a general depopulation throughout Laconia; so that, instead of natives sufficient to occupy the thirty-nine thousand shares, into which Lycurgus had originally divided the lands, only seven hundred families of the Spartan race were now to be found; of whom about six hundred, far from being capable of exerting any degree of vigor in the public service,

feels for the
distresses of
his country &

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were pining in abject penury, wretchedness, and contempt. Even the slaves, who formerly swarmed over all the country, were now considerably thinned in their numbers; many of them, as the Spartan families had gone to decay, having neither employment nor subsistence, had perished; and many others had been carried off by plunderers; the Aetolians alone having, in one inroad¹⁰, swept off above fifty thousand of them. At the same time, all Peloponnesus, as well as a great part of the rest of Greece, confessed the power of Achaia; and the little importance which still remained to Sparta, she seemed now chiefly to owe to the alliance she enjoyed with that formidable republic.

Cleomenes felt all the embarrassments of his situation. Feeble at home, his measures were controlled by the insolence of the Ephori and the faction of the rich: whilst, despised abroad, he had to endure, with humiliating indignation, the haughty pretensions of the Achaean states, and the dictatorial mandates of the high-spirited Aratus.

attempts to
revive the
martial spirit
of the Spar-
tans;

In this choice of difficulties, it was hard to say which of them he should begin to contend with. His natural turn to martial enterprise determined him: and it is not improbable, that the representations of the Aetolians, of which we have already made mention, had a large share in this determination. It appears from Polybius¹¹, that they had been exceedingly earnest to inspire the Spartan king

¹⁰ Plutarch in Cleomene.

¹¹ L. ii. c. 45, 46.

with a jealousy of Achaia. They had even engaged, if we may believe that historian, to serve Sparta at the expense of their own honor; and, whilst they kept up the appearance of acting in concert with the Achaean confederacy, to favor the progress of the Spartan arms.

This was, at the same time, the only plausible measure he could embrace to rouse the Spartans themselves; for, immersed as they were in corruption, the glory of the Spartan name was still with them a favorite theme; and they were always disposed to think well of the prince who attempted to retrieve it. At the head also of an army, he would be more powerful; and, if he returned with victory, he might then assume the same dominion over the factious Ephori, which at present they exercised over him; and find, in consequence, a season for the restoration of those laws, of which he now durst not even seem to think.

Such, as far as a judgment can be formed, at this distance of time, from the accounts of different historians, appear to have been the views of Cleomenes. The tenor of his conduct will best explain them.

His first attempt was on some cities of Arcadia, Tegea, Mantinea, and Orchomenos, of which he made himself master. From Polybius ¹² we learn, that on this occasion he employed the arts of intrigue rather than force; and that the Aetolians, in whose charge those cities appear to have been, were supposed to have betrayed them into his hands. There

¹² L. ii. c. 46.

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is also reason to believe, that he engaged in this enterprize at his own risque, and without the authority of the magistracy of Sparta. His view, unquestionably, was to spirit them up, if possible to a war: and his design succeeded accordingly.

is supported

by the Ephori:

Encouraged by these favorable beginnings, the Ephori ordered him to seize and fortify a certain castle in the district of Megalopolis, which commanded on that side the entrance into Laconia; historians call it Athenaeum. It must have been a pass of considerable importance, as the Achaean states, though hitherto passive, immediately upon this act of hostility declared war against the Spartans. This was the very measure Cleomenes wished for: he forthwith took the field with what troops he could muster, and began to commit great ravages throughout the territories of the cities in league with Achaia. But his whole force amounted only to five thousand men, and the Achaeans were marching against him with upwards of twenty thousand. He advanced, nevertheless, in order of battle, and with such appearance of resolution, that the enemy declined the engagement, and retired. So shameful a retreat, before such a handful of men, was nearly as prejudicial to the Achaeans as a discomfiture could have been, and raised exceedingly the reputation of the Spartan king. The blame of this dastardly conduct fell on Aratus, as he had, it seems, advised it. The truth was, Aratus, though in council the first man in Greece, of great capacity and boldness in the direction of affairs, and possessing an uncommon genius for intrigue and decisive measures,

the Achaeans
retreat be-
fore him;

was generally lost to himself in the time of action; a certain constitutional defect prevailing then over that admirable judgment and presence of mind which he possessed in the cabinet ¹³. His life affords several remarkable instances of this frailty.

The behaviour of the Achaean chief gave new vigor to Cleomenes: his numbers increased; and the Eleans, who had never been steady in the interests of Achaia, now openly declared against her. To chastise this defection (for such the Achaeans seem to have thought it) they made a rapid movement towards Elis; and were followed with the same expedition by Cleomenes, who came up with them at Lycaeum, near the Elean borders; and, as they were endeavouring to retreat; put them entirely to the rout, killing great numbers, and taking many prisoners. But, by a strange reverse, whilst the Spartans were exulting in their victory, Aratus, who watched the opportunity, having rallied some of his troops, struck off into the road to Mantinea, and made himself amends by surprising that city ¹⁴.

This loss, seemingly of no great moment, but probably aggravated by the enemies of Cleomenes, was considered at Sparta as overbalancing all the

¹³ See Plutarch in Arato.

¹⁴ The Mantineans, who at first belonged to the Achaean confederacy, having renounced their alliance, had surrendered their city first to the Aetolians, and afterwards to Cleomenes. This surprise of Mantinea by Aratus happened, according to Polybius, four years before the invasion of Peloponnesus by Antigonus. See Polyb. Cas. Oct. L. ii. c. 57. p. 198.

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advantages which might be derived from the late successful action; and so alarmed did the Ephori pretend to be, that Cleomenes was instantly recalled home, and all design of continuing the war laid aside.

prevails on
them to con-
tinue the war;

This check, if not obviated, must have been to Cleomenes the final ruin of all his projects; but he employed every expedient in his power to prevent the consequences he so much dreaded. He had recourse to supplications: he had recourse to corruption; and at length, by interesting their avarice, he obtained of the Ephori, that he should be permitted to continue his operations. From what followed soon after, it is likely, that the haughtiness he experienced on this occasion from these imperious controllers of kings, fixed him in the resolution of freeing himself effectually from so mortifying a restraint.

overthrows
the Achaeans
near Leuctra.

The ensuing campaign was signalized by the total overthrow of the Achaean army near Leuctra. Cleomenes had marched thither in the view of surprising the town; and, the Achaeans having hastened to its relief, attacked him under the walls. For some time the battle was in favor of the Achaeans, who pushed the Lacedemonians vigorously on every side. But Cleomenes, having with great art drawn the enemy into some woody inclosures and hollow grounds, turned the fortune of the day, and defeated them with much slaughter; Lyfiades, then general of Achaia, and formerly tyrant of Megalopolis, after having greatly distinguished himself, being numbered among the slain.

Aratus blamed

This misfortune was imputed to Aratus. He was

charged with having neglected to support Lyfiades¹⁵; and so exasperated were the Achaeans, that in their next general assembly they declared him unworthy of national confidence, forbidding him either to levy troops in their name, or to interfere with their finances; leaving it to him to carry on the war, if he thought proper, at his own expence.

This victory of Cleomenes was succeeded by the general devastation of Arcadia, and the reduction of several towns; for no sooner was one enterprise atchieved, than the Spartans attempted another; Cleomenes not allowing his army the least interval of repose¹⁶. In this he had his own private views. Harassed in the severest manner during the time they had been kept in the field, the Lacedemonians gladly accepted the offer of being left to garrison the Arcadian towns during the winter-months. So that at the close of the campaign, the king returned to Sparta with the mercenary troops alone. As he approached the city, he opened his intentions to Euryclidas and some chosen friends, to whom the Ephori were obnoxious. He contrived to reach Sparta in the evening, about the hour when the Ephori usually assembled in the hall in which they supped. Euryclidas having accordingly entered with his associates, upon pretence of a message from the king, whilst he was holding the Ephori in discourse, the rest rushed upon them, and buried their swords in their bodies; one only escaping, who having fallen

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for this over-
throw, and
disgraced.Cleomenes
reduces several
of the
towns of Arcadia, and
places Spartan
garrisons in
them;returns to
Sparta with
the mercenaries
only;assassinates
the Ephori;¹⁵ See Plutarch in Arato.¹⁶ Plutarch in Cleomene.

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pierced with wounds, lay in appearance dead; but recovering afterwards, he crept out, and was suffered to survive.

Seeks to palliate this act of violence;

What Cleomenes himself thought of this act of violence, we may easily gather from the uncommon pains he took to reconcile the Spartans to what had happened. He convened them together the ensuing day, and, after pleading warmly against the unconstitutional establishment of this order of magistrates¹⁷, he went through an invidious recital of the several acts of iniquity the Ephori, collectively or individually, had been guilty of; which, whilst they marked them as proper objects of public vengeance, led him to lament the unhappy necessity which compelled him to have recourse to assassination, in order to deliver his country from these ministers of oppression¹⁸.

The king might palliate the transaction; but it was impossible he could justify it. And probably the Spartans themselves suspected, what too often happens, that the overthrow of one species of despotism was only accomplished, with the view of raising on its ruins a despotism of another kind, not less formidable than what had been destroyed.

The Ephori being thus removed, he commanded the judicial seats, on which they sat in the hall of justice, to be also taken away, one only excepted, to be left for the king, in whose hands, solely,

¹⁷ This body had subsisted, however, and become a part of the constitution, three hundred and fifty years before the time of Cleomenes.

¹⁸ See Plutarch in Cleomene.

he told them, the dispensation of justice was thenceforth to be placed. He then proceeded to banish eighty of the Spartan citizens, friends of the late administration; and, so difficult is it to use power with moderation, he appointed, in violation of that very original constitution, which he pretended to restore, his own brother, Euclidas to be joint-king with him. Archidamus, the brother of Agis, had lived till lately an exile in Messenia, and had been recalled to Sparta, in order to take his seat on the throne belonging to his family; but on his way thither, he had been murdered. By whom he was recalled, whether by Cleomenes, or by the party against him; or to whom the guilt of his murder was to be imputed; are matters not well ascertained. Some historians, indeed, have not scrupled to charge his death to the account of Cleomenes himself¹⁹; a suspicion which will be thought, perhaps, not

¹⁹ Polybius (L. v. c. 37. p. 533, 534. & L. viii. c. 1. p. 711.) says, that Archidamus had been restored to the Spartan throne, and that, after some time, suspecting the ambitious views of Cleomenes, he had again fled from Sparta; but afterwards, through the mediation of Nicagoras, the intimate friend of Archidamus, Cleomenes prevailed on him to return; and that, as he was on his way to Sparta, upon Cleomenes's plighted faith, he was murdered by him; Cleomenes having gone to meet him, and (a circumstance highly improbable) perpetrating with his own hand the bloody deed. And he assigns this as the reason why Cleomenes, when at the court of Ptolemy Philopater, was betrayed, (as we shall read in the history of Egyptian affairs, see b. x. sect. 2. of this work) by this very Nicagoras. It was to revenge the death of Archidamus, of whose ruin he had, through the artifice of Cleomenes, been made the instrument.—

B O O K altogether void of probability, when it is remem-
 IV. bered, that, besides the danger of a revolution,
 Sect. 2. should his colleague disapprove of the new mode
 of government he meant to introduce, there was
 another interest, not less powerful with Cleome-
 nes: Agiatis was his wife, to whom Archidamus
 had a prior right.

re-establishes
 the agrarian
 and sumptu-
 ary laws of
 Lycurgus, and

His next care was the re-establishment of the
 agrarian and sumptuary laws of Sparta²⁰. He had
 before this period revived in his own person and
 family, the strictness of the Lycurgic discipline;

But Plutarch, less ready to credit every charge against Cleo-
 menes, then seems to have been the case with Polybius,
 gives this story a very different turn. Cleomenes, according
 to him, had resolved, before he would proceed to any
 violence against the Ephori, to recal Archidamus, to whom
 the crown, in that branch of the royal family, belonged,
 in order to humble those imperious magistrates; who, he
 imagined, when the kingly government, according to
 the Spartan constitution, was complete, and could main-
 tain its due weight, would not be so formidable. The party
 which had put Agis to death, discovering this design, and
 dreading the vengeance of Archidamus, if he should be re-
 established on the throne, formed their plan accordingly.
 They joined in inviting him to Sparta, and even assisted in
 his return; but they assassinated him immediately after.
 Whether it was against the consent of Cleomenes, as Phylar-
 chus, a contemporary historian, thinks, or whether his friends
 prevailed on him to abandon that unhappy prince, Plutarch
 does not take upon him to determine. If he gave his consent,
 Plutarch, however, is of opinion, it must have been owing
 to the importunities of his friends; and the greatest part of
 the blame, he asserts, is therefore to be charged to the account
 of those friends, who had the guilt of teasing him into it.

²⁰ See Plutarch in Cleomene.

and his dress, his table, his furniture, his equipage, were all of the simplest kind. He was now the first to surrender his own estate into the public stock. His relations and friends followed his example. And the rest of the citizens having also done the same, (for a refusal was what no man at this juncture would presume to attempt) the lands were immediately divided. He even assigned lots for each of the persons whom he had banished, declaring, that they should be all recalled, when tranquillity was once more re-established. And, to remedy the present depopulation, he filled up the number of citizens out of the most virtuous of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries. He then gave his attention to the education of the youths, in order to train them according to the original severity of the Lacedemonian laws. He restored their hardy manner of clothing, their schools of exercise, their public meals, and arranged their whole course of discipline upon the system of ancient times. A new face of things soon appeared in Sparta; neither the drooping look of indigence, nor the scornful insolence of wealth, were any longer to be seen; a people healthy and robust began again to crowd her streets, and all the arts, that administer to luxury and effeminacy, disappeared. Above all, he took care to instruct his subjects by his own example; he appeared a pattern of temperance and of plain manners; he assumed no kind of parade or show above a common citizen, but conversed among his people with unaffected familiarity; and, whenever they made application to him in his regal

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enforces them
by his own
example.

BOOK capacity, he received them with cheerfulness, and
 IV. entered upon their business with the utmost rea-
 Sect. 2. diness and attention.

This was a noble reformation, and surely well deserving of the highest praise, had it been effected by Cleomenes, not by bloodshed and iniquity, but by the fair and constitutional road of law and general consent! The perplexing circumstances he was placed in, at the beginning of his reign, joined to the natural impetuosity of his own temper, rendered perhaps more violent by the opposition he had to contend with, form all the apology, that history has to offer for him ²¹.

²¹ Polybius, however, on most occasions, treats Cleomenes's character with a severity not to be justified. He even charges him (L. ii. c. 47. p. 185.) with *having dissolved τὸ πατρὶον πολίτευμα, the political constitution of his country, and having changed τὴν ἐννομον βασιλείαν εἰς τυραννίδα, the legal kingly power into a tyranny.* Yet Polybius himself acknowledges, in more places than one, that at his accession the Spartan constitution was nearly destroyed, by the corrupt innovations which ambition and the lust of power had introduced into it. To the praise of Cleomenes it certainly is, that he endeavoured to restore the original establishments of the Lycurgic law. But, to his reproach, that he effected it by means to which he ought never to have had recourse; by arbitrary oppression and bloodshed.—Polybius himself seems to account for his severe strictures on this prince. He compiled this part of his history, he tells us (L. ii. c. 55. p. 196.) from the commentaries of Aratus, the avowed enemy of the Spartan king, and who doubtless sought for a justification of his own unconstitutional counsels by throwing what blame he could on Cleomenes. And that so judicious and generally candid a writer as Polybius, should have been betrayed into this

Having thus rendered himself absolute master of Sparta, policy as well as inclination urged him to give employment to that vigor, which he had now improved or created, and which, if not exerted abroad, might prove fatal to him at home. He²² marched his Spartans into the territories of Megalopolis, which he plundered and laid waste, none daring to oppose him; and, after some other exploits of this depredatory nature, he prepared

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marches
against the
enemy;

lays waste the
territories of
Megalopolis;

track, we shall not wonder, when we recal to mind, that he himself was of Megalopolis, that very city whose ruins were a monument of Cleomenes's violence. — As for Livy, he is the copier of Polybius, and therefore, in conformity with him, pronounces (L. xxxiv. c. 26.) Cleomenes to have been *the tyrant of Sparta*. — Plutarch has dealt more fairly by him; blaming his acts that deserved censure; and, at the same time, doing justice to the noble and princely qualities of this extraordinary man. Plutarch therefore we have chiefly followed, without losing sight of the information that was to be found in other writers. — As to Pausanias, his account of Cleomenes deserves little regard. He tells us (in Corinthiacis) of Eurydamidas, a young prince on the throne jointly with him, whom he took off by poison, though neither Polybius nor Plutarch make mention of such a king. And he would have us even believe, that the Lacedemonians held him in abhorrence; in express contradiction to the testimony of the two last-mentioned historians, from whom it appears, that, notwithstanding the unhappy issue of the wars he engaged in, and the calamities brought upon Sparta by their means, he was still held in high veneration among them; so that, though a captive in Egypt, they refused, as long as he lived, to have any other king, in hopes of his restoration. See Polyb. L. iv. c. 35. & Plut. in Cleomene.

²² Plutarch in Cleom. & Arato.

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forces the
Achaean lines
at Hecatombœum and ob-
tains a com-
plete victory.

to carry the war into the heart of Achaia. The Achaeans had formed a strong encampment at Hecatombœum, a place at some distance from Dymé, one of their frontier-towns near the Elean borders; in which situation they expected, in case the Spartans attempted this pass, to inclose them between Dymé and the Achaean camp, and render their escape difficult. Cleomenes was not to be deterred. He began by ravaging the other side of Achaia, which he had entered from the Arcadian frontier, and, advancing at length towards them, he attacked them on this very ground, where they had fortified themselves with so much confidence, forced their lines, and defeated them with great slaughter. This was the severest blow the Achaeans had yet received. Their army had been composed of the flower of their nation; and they were almost all cut off. Their allies, besides, were falling off. The Mantineans, before this period, after putting the Achaean garrison in their city to the sword, had called in the Spartans. And the same spirit was now said to prevail in most of the other cities of Peloponnesus. In this emergency, they had not even Aratus to depend upon. Not knowing what measures to pursue, or whom to employ, they had applied to him, and again had offered him the command. But, either in resentment of the disgrace he lately experienced, as his friends would have it believed, or discouraged perhaps by the difficult posture of affairs, he had declined to be employed.

Achaeans are

The only resource left them was to sue to Cleome-

nes for conditions of peace. The king of Lacedemon required, that Sparta should be restored to her former pre-eminence among the nations of Peloponnesus; that he himself should be considered as the head of the Achaean confederacy; and be permitted to direct their councils and operations. To a people in dread of much harder terms, the demand seemed moderate. A congress was accordingly appointed to be held at Lerna in Arcadia, to which Cleomenes was invited. But, unhappily for Greece, a sudden indisposition obliged him to return to Sparta; and the final settlement of the various arrangements of the proposed pacification was postponed until his recovery.

Mean while, Aratus had found means to resume his former influence in the Achaean councils. He looked upon the present establishment of Achaia as the work of his wisdom; and he could not bear to think, that the Spartans, whom he had been accustomed to number among the dependents of his republic, should now take the lead, and prescribe laws; or that the prize, for which he had been contending thirty-and-three years²³, the

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reduced to sue
for peace to
Cleomenes.

Aratus resumes his influence;

²³ Aratus was twenty years old when he delivered Sicyon. Eight years after, he restored also Corinth to her liberties, two years before the death of Antigonus Gonatas. He was therefore thirty years old at the time of Gonatas's death, which happened about the 4th year of the 133d Olympiad, 244 years before Christ. Demetrius, the successor of Gonatas, reigned ten years. If therefore, at the time when the victorious arms of Cleomenes obliged the Achaeans to have recourse to Macedon, thirty-three years had elapsed since Aratus first entered on the administration of affairs, it follows, that the

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Contrives to
prevent a
peace with
Sparta.

monument of his fame, and the recompence of all his cares, should, in the decline of life, be wrested from him by a young prince, whose name till now was hardly known. Agitated by these reflections, he employed himself in devising means to elude the intended measure. A second congress had been appointed at Argos, and Cleomenes, with a respectable force, was on his way to that city. Aratus took this opportunity to execute his purpose. Under a show of zeal for the public safety, he threw out surmises of the intentions of Cleomenes; he hinted to the Achaeans, how dangerous it might be to admit within the city a body of enemies led on by a young ambitious warrior; and at last prevailed on them to dispatch an embassy to the Spartan king, requiring him not to come within the gates of Argos, unless he came alone; in which case three hundred hostages should be given for the security of his person; or, if he did not approve of this expedient, he might advance, at the head of his army, to a certain spot without the walls, called the Cyllarabis, where the wrestlers performed their exercises, and in that place they would treat with him.

Cleomenes,
affronted by
the Achaeans,
breaks off ne-
gotiating.

To a prince naturally high-spirited, and at this period elated with victory, it might easily be foreseen what an appearance of mockery such a proposal would carry with it. He treated both message and messenger with the utmost disdain; and, in

calling in of Antigonus must have been about the 2d or 3d year of the 139th Olympiad, or the 222d or 221st year before Christ; Aratus being then aged about fifty-three years.

a high and menacing tone, discovered his sense of the indignity offered to his character. It is said, that afterwards, when too late, Cleomenes discovered the part Aratus had acted on this occasion.

Thus, through the high spirit of one chief, and the duplicity of another, was the only measure which could have preserved Greece from bondage, irretrievably lost. Had Aratus, truly faithful to his country, placed his glory in her happiness, and been content with his counsels to assist operations, which now he had neither capacity nor courage to lead; or had Cleomenes, subduing resentment, condescended, on Aratus's own terms, to have entered Argos, where probably his demands, supported by his presence and persuasive powers, had found little opposition; they might have then prevented, what after that day there never was another opportunity of preventing; the ruin of their country. But the pride of Cleomenes, and the far more criminal pride and duplicity of Aratus, forbade it. And to that fatal pride Greece owed her destruction.

It is remarkable, that both Aratus and Cleomenes had the same scheme in view; both wished to unite all the nations of Peloponnesus into one commonwealth, and, by this means, to form such a bulwark for the defence of the common liberties of Greece, as might have bidden defiance to every foreign power. The only question was, to what people, and to what chief was the direction to be committed? Aratus was determined that he would have the glory of doing all, or that no other should

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The artifice
and ruinous
measures of
Aratus :

B O O K save or aggrandize his country ; and , rather than
 IV. suffer the administration to be in any hands but
 Sect. 2. his own , resolved to throw all things into confusion. Unfortunately for mankind , there hardly has been a country , or an age , that has not had its Aratus !

the consequences throughout Peloponnesus and the parts adjoining.

The breaking-off the treaty of pacification occasioned a general ferment throughout all Peloponnesus. Cleomenes, fired at the indignity the Achaeans had offered, urged the war with more vigor than ever ; he ravaged their territories, and he sacked their towns. Even in those places, which his arms had not yet reached, every thing threatened insurrection and hostility to the Achaeans, either from the intrigues of the Spartan emissaries, or from the rankling suspicions to which the conduct of Aratus had given birth. The Athenians, as well as the Aetolians, refused to assist Achaia. Aristomachus, formerly tyrant of the Argives, and now a member of the Achaean confederacy, betrayed Argos to the Spartan king. The Corinthians were on the point of delivering their city into his hands ; and even Sicyon must have been lost, had not a timely discovery prevented the conspiracy from taking effect.

Aratus conceives the thought of calling in the Macedonians ;

These mischiefs, nevertheless, with the guilt of which Aratus could not but charge himself, served only to hurry him into counsels pregnant with circumstances still more fatal. Resolved, at any risque, to exclude Sparta from the superintendency of Peloponnesian affairs, he fixed upon a measure the most pernicious, that any statesman of Greece

could in these times have adopted²⁴. The power then the most formidable to the Grecian liberties, was the kingdom of Macedon. Since the days of Philip, it had been the favorite object of its princes to bring Greece into subjection. The terror and devastation of war, the insidious arts of corruption and intrigue, whatever, indeed, could contribute to the breaking of that republican spirit, which animated her councils, had to this end been successfully employed. To these dangerous neighbours Aratus, as we have seen, had from his early years distinguished himself by his opposition, and to this noble opposition, which had rescued Greece from Macedonian usurpation, he owed all the glory of his life. But a total change of principles was now to take place. Rather than see Cleomenes at the head of Greece, he conceived the pernicious thought of making Antigonus of Macedon the instrument of Sparta's destruction. In order to accomplish this, he proposed to restore the Macedonians to the full possession of that power, from which he himself had driven them; and, from motives of envy and disappointed ambition, to invest its natural enemies with the sovereignty of his country.

There lay, however, two powerful obstacles in his way. In Greece the attempt was unpopular; and Antigonus seemed regardless of ambitious projects. With this prince Aratus had not the least connexion, and he must have been considered by

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difficulties in
his way.

²⁴ Polyb. L. ii. c. 47, & seq. Plutarch in Cleomen. & Arato.

B O O K him as a person most hostile to the Macedonian
 IV. interest. With his usual address, however, he
 Sect. 2. surmounted both these difficulties.

his manner
 of surmount-
 ing them.

Megalopolis, of all the cities of Peloponnesus, lay the most exposed to invasions from Laconia; and there had anciently subsisted a friendly intercourse between the Megalopolitans and the Macedonians. Having gained over to his views two of the principal men of this city, he directed them to apply to the Achaean states for protection against Sparta; and, should they not be able to grant it, which Aratus well knew, they were not, to ask permission to implore the aid of Antigonus. The scheme succeeded as he had wished, and his instruments were appointed to proceed to the Macedonian court. He then instructed them, to mention him favorably to the king; to be active in removing from his mind the prejudices he might have conceived against him; and to offer him whatever pledge he should desire of the devotion and future fealty of Aratus. They were particularly to represent to Antigonus, that his interests and those of Achaia were the same; that the enterprising Cleomenes, when he had once subjected Greece, would soon make his way to the Macedonian frontiers; and that what Antigonus might now easily accomplish in Peloponnesus, he might find difficult to effect within his own kingdom, if invaded by a prince made bold by success, and made strong by his victories, whose very name would invite to his banners all the ancient enemies of Macedon.

Antigonus

Hitherto, as we have already observed, Antigonus

had affected a total disregard of Grecian affairs. The B o o k
 expelling even of the Macedonian garrisons from IV.
 the Grecian towns, had not provoked him to Sect. 2.
 interpose. And though often solicited by many ^{adverse from}
 of the states of Greece, and lately by the Aetolians ^{meddling}
 in particular, to take advantage of the present ^{with the af-}
 distractions, he had always, attentive to the prof- ^{fairs of}
 perity of his own kingdom, steadily refused the ^{Greece;}
 invitation.

But now, to see the leader of Achaia his suppliant, but yields to
 and those very Achaeans, by whom his predecessors ^{the sollicita-}
 had been expelled from Peloponnesus, voluntarily ^{tions of the}
 opening their gates to him; to be presented with the ^{Achaeans:}
 opportunity of humbling that Sparta, which had held
 in scorn the mightiest of Macedon's kings; to enjoy
 the prospect of uniting Greece and Macedon into one
 sovereignty, and of seeing himself master of what
 even Alexander could never boast; were tempta-
 tions, which even the temperate mind of Antigonus
 could not withstand.

He promised all that was desired. Aratus, to give extraordinary
 the more credit to the negotiation, had sent his own ^{compact made}
 son to Antigonus by way of hostage; who stipulated, ^{by Aratus with}
 on the part of Achaia—"That the citadel of Corinth ^{Antigonus;}
 should be delivered into the king's hands—that he
 should be at the head of the Achaean confederacy,
 superintend their councils, and direct their opera-
 tions—that money and provisions should be supplied
 at their expense, for the support of his army—that
 neither embassy nor letter should be sent to any
 power, without his approbation—nor any city,
 state, or people, be from that time admitted into the

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Achaean league, without his express consent²⁵. The two last stipulations were, in fact, bonds of allegiance to Antigonus. They had their foundation in the original confederacy of the Achaean states; but were at this time new-modelled, to serve the purpose of the present negotiation; and in this form, the several members of the Achaean league were required to swear to the observation of them: which oath was to be administered every year. From these articles it is evident, that the Achaean liberties were now but a name. The lord of Achaia was Antigonus.

the duplicity
of Aratus;

It is not, however, to be imagined, that Aratus ventured at once to avow every clause of this exceptionable compact. The whole transaction seems to have been the work of subtilty and dark disguise. Even previous to the appointment of the second congress at Argos, it appears from Plutarch, that he had entered privately into a negotiation with Antigonus; and probably most of the articles here mentioned were kept secret for a time, and disclosed gradually, as the nature of the case made it necessary, and as the power of Antigonus came to be more firmly established²⁶.

²⁵ See Polyb. L. ii. & passim. Plutarch in Arato.

²⁶ Aratus, throughout this whole transaction, appears to have conducted himself with the greatest subtilty. Though the scheme was his own, in public he affected to have many difficulties concerning its expediency, and to offer many specious objections; which doubtless, at the same time, his creatures had instructions, and were prepared to answer. Even in Aratus's Commentaries, Polybius himself (L. ii. c. 47.) acknowledges, that several material circumstances respecting this business were omitted by him, conscious it was not to his honor that the world should be apprized of them.

When the other Peloponnesian states, especially those who had lately felt the yoke of Macedon, found their suspicions turned to certainty, and that it was determined they should again be given up into the hands of their oppressors, they were exasperated to the utmost against Achaia. So violent, in particular, were the people at Corinth, that they rose against Aratus to put him to death; and with difficulty he escaped from the city. Their only hopes were now in Cleomenes, the last refuge of the Grecian liberties; who, unequal as he appeared to the dangers he had to encounter, seemed to draw fresh vigor from his difficulties. Upon the first advice of the Macedonians being in motion, he had entered the isthmus, and had taken possession of a pass²⁷ on the Onean mountains, which commanded the opening of the defile on the northern side; so that, whilst he continued in this position, it was impracticable for Antigonus to force his way, nor could he be joined by his friends from Peloponnesus; Aratus, who with the demiurgi had been deputed to wait on Antigonus, being obliged to cross the Corinthian gulph in order to get to the Macedonian camp²⁸. But it was not possible that Cleomenes should provide for the safety of every place. The Achaeans found means to surprise Argos, with a design to cut off the communication of Cleomenes with Sparta. This laid the Spartan king under the necessity of returning back into Peloponnesus, and to leave the pass open for the Macedonians.

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indignation of
the Pelopon-
nesian states at
this transac-
tion.Cleomenes
possesses him-
self of the
Corinthian
isthmus;is forced to
abandon it;The pass open
for the Ma-
cedonians.²⁷ Polyb. L. ii. c. 52.²⁸ Plutarch in Arato.

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most of the
Peloponne-
sian cities
surrender to
Antigonus;

the distress of
Cleomenes;

Such a formidable body of auxiliaries, for the Macedonians amounted in numbers to near twenty-two thousand men, soon enabled the Achaeans to resume their superiority in Peloponnesus. Corinth, with most of the other cities, which had declared for Sparta, surrendered to Antigonus; and in less than one campaign, Cleomenes had nothing but Laconia remaining. Amidst this wreck of his public fortunes, he lost the virtuous Agiatis, whose excellent sense and tender affection had been his resource in his severest exigencies. And, as if every comfort were to be withdrawn from him, Ptolemy Euergetes, then king of Egypt, to whom he had applied for succours, refused to grant his request, unless his mother and his children were sent into Egypt as pledges of his fidelity. The perfidy which the Egyptian king had experienced from the Achaeans, in deserting his alliance, and calling in Antigonus, had induced Ptolemy, a prince otherwise remarkably humane, to make this ungenerous requisition; with which however, such was the situation of his affairs, that Cleomenes was forced to comply²⁹.

²⁹ The reader will not be displeased to find here, the account which Plutarch has preserved to us, of the noble firmness of Cratesiclea, the mother of Cleomenes, on this affecting occasion, when the necessity of affairs obliged this prince to send her and his children to Egypt. Having conducted them to Taenarus, where they were to take shipping, the hour of parting being come, his wonted fortitude forsook him; and the fierce warrior was seen to melt into the tender son and fond parent. Cratesiclea with concern marked his emotion; and, drawing him aside into an adjoining temple, “King of Sparta,” said she to him, clasping her aged arms

His

His spirit, nevertheless, remained still unsubdued. Besides what he had received from Egypt, he had contrived to raise at home a farther supply of men and money, by enfranchising such of the Helotes as could pay a certain fine for their freedom, and by inlisting among his troops a great many more of those that were fit for military service. Thus recruited in strength, he determined to strike terror into the enemy. The city of Megalopolis has been already mentioned. It was one of the most considerable in Peloponnesus, and scarcely inferior even to Sparta; stately, populous, opulent, and from its situation, of great importance; commanding most parts of Arcadia, of which it was the chief city. It had been planned by the illustrious Epaminondas, as a strong hold for the Arcadians, at that time scattered mostly in defenceless villages, and to curb the power of Sparta. Cleomenes formed the design of surprising this city, though the Achaeans lay encamped on the one side, and the Macedonians on the other. With this view he deceived the enemy by a feint march, as if he had intended to fall on Argos; but he turned suddenly short, and was in possession of Megalopolis, before either Antigonus or Aratus suspected his

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he obtains a
supply of men
and money;surprises
Megalopolis.

around him, and pressing him to her bosom, “take care that, when we go hence, no one may perceive us weeping, or behaving in any shape unworthy of the illustrious city that gave us birth. *This alone* is in our power; the issue is in the hands of God.” This said; composing her countenance, she embarked, bearing her grandson in her arms, and ordered the pilot to put to sea with all possible expedition. — *Plutarch in Cleomene.*

B O O K purpose. He had a particular view in forming this
 IV. enterprize. The Megalopolitans were the sanguine
 Sect. 2. friends of Macedon, and he hoped, by the possession
 of their city, to have it in his power to detach them
 from Antigonus; an object certainly of the highest
 moment to his affairs, could it have been effected.
 He accordingly sent messengers after the inhabit-
 ants, most of whom had escaped by flight, and
 offered to restore the city, with all the spoil, entire
 and unhurt, on condition of their renouncing the
 friendship of the Macedonian king: but the Megalo-
 politans, at the instigation of Philopoemen, after-
 wards a distinguished character in the Achaean
 history, having rejected the offer, Cleomenes was
 so transported with resentment that he plundered the
 city, and caused it to be laid in ruins.

and lays it in
 ruins;

the affliction of
 Aratus and the
 Achaeans on
 this occasion

This was a deep wound to the Achaean interest; and we may judge of its magnitude from what Plutarch relates. The general assembly of Achaia had met, and Aratus was preparing to harangue them, when he received the tidings. He mounted the suggestum; but, unable to speak, he burst into tears, covering his face with his robe. After some minutes of extreme agitation and distress, the whole assembly calling out to know what it was that thus moved him, with difficulty at length he uttered, "Megalopolis is destroyed by Cleomenes!" Consternation instantly filled every breast; all public business was suspended; and the convention broke up in silent amazement and horror.

Cleomenes at-
 tempts Argos,

Emboldened by this success, Cleomenes, at the opening of the ensuing spring, appeared before Argos,

where Antigonus was encamped, and defied him to battle; but his challenge not being accepted, he spread devastation through all the country around. His purpose was, either to force the Macedonian king to the field, whilst most of his troops were still in their winter-cantonments, or to excite against him the indignation of the Argives. But neither his insults nor their murmurs moved Antigonus. He saw clearly, that this predatory war, however successful, must nevertheless prove, in the end, of little service to Cleomenes; whose army, consisting mostly of mercenaries, were not to be kept together without regular pay, for which he had no fund to depend upon, but the precarious remittances from Egypt. Antigonus, on the contrary, rich in treasure, saw the advantage he must derive from thence; and, by opposing Cleomenes at first, faintly, yet cautiously, he artfully adhered to a plan of operations, which, it was evident, must soon exhaust his adversary.

Baffled in this manner by a subtle foe, and pressed by his own difficulties, Cleomenes found himself obliged to retire again within Laconia. Besides, the Macedonian and Peloponnesian forces now assembling, he began to fear that Sparta was their object, and he resolved to cover it, if possible, from insult. Near the town of Selasia, the road leading to Sparta became exceedingly narrow, being confined between two hills, the Eva and the Olympus, both high and difficult of ascent; and in the glen, that divided these hills, ran the Oenus, along one of the banks of which the road extended. This pass Cleomenes undertook to defend. On one hill was stationed his

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in order to
bring on an
engagement;

but is baffled;

retreats to
Selasia, in
order to co-
ver Sparta;

intrenches
himself

B O O K brother Euclidas, with part of the army whilst he
 IV. himself took post on the other; the bottom of each
 Sect. 2. hill, and the opening of the defile, being secured by
 a ditch and a strong rampart.

with great
 skill;

Antigonus, who soon approached, beheld with admiration the position of the enemy. Whatever could render the appearance of an army formidable, or add to the natural strength of this important pass, had been performed; and no part was to be seen on which an impression could be made with effect. Though considerably superior in point of numbers³⁰, he had too much wisdom to hazard an attack upon men drawn up so advantageously; he encamped therefore at a distance on the plain below, in order to observe the motions of his enemy, and take his measures as circumstances might offer. This deliberate caution and coolness of Antigonus, prepared the way for the ruin of Cleomenes, who had expected, that the Macedonians would immediately have advanced; all his hopes resting on the speedy decision of a battle. His supplies from Egypt had failed; yet he carefully concealed from his army the distressed state of his finances, being well assured, that, should it once be suspected, his mercenaries would instantly crumble away, and leave him to the mercy of Antigonus. Any fortune seemed to him preferable; and rather than be reduced to a dilemma so humiliating, he determined to throw open his intrenchments, and, without farther delay, to risque an engagement.

forced to ha-
 zard an en-
 gagement;

³⁰ He was thirty thousand strong, and the Spartans were but twenty thousand.

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The same admirable skill which he had exhibited in forming his encampment, he now showed in the disposition of his army; and he charged with such vigor the Macedonians, who led on by Antigonos, had attacked the wing in which he fought, that for some time he compelled the phalanx to give ground, and had nearly wrested the victory from them. But the injudicious management of Euclidas, according to Polybius³¹, or according to others³², the treachery of an officer in the Spartan army, corrupted by Antigonos, having caused the total discomfiture of the other wing, the confusion soon involved the whole Spartan line; and Cleomenes, overpowered by numbers, most of his men having fallen, was forced at length to quit the field. is defeated;

He fled to Sparta; informed the citizens of the disastrous event; and advised them to submit to Antigonos. "For my part," continued he, "I am prepared either to live or to die, as the one or the other may be most for the interest of my country." He then retired to his own house, where he refused every kind of refreshment, not even suffering his armour to be taken off; but after having leaned his head for a few minutes against a pillar, he set off for Gythium, the principal station of the Spartan fleets; and from thence to Egypt: flies to Sparta,
and, with some chosen friends, going immediately on board, stretched away for Egypt³³.

³¹ See Polyb. L. ii. c. 68.

³² See Plutarch in Cleomene.

³³ A farther insight into the character of this prince, may be had from a curious anecdote recorded of him when on his way to

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adventures in
that kingdom;

His adventures in Ægypt belong rather to the history of that kingdom; at present it may be sufficient to mention a few of the principal circumstances.

Ptolemy Euergetes, whose ally he had for some time been, received him honorably; and, when better acquainted with his character, held him in

Ægypt. Therycion, one of the Spartans who attended him, borne down by his reverse of fortune, proposed to Cleomenes to kill himself, setting off the proposal with that specious coloring, which the imbecillity of an oppressed mind is apt to mistake for argument. "Thinkest thou, wicked man," replied Cleomenes, "to show thy fortitude by rushing upon death, a refuge always easily to be had, and which every man has open to him? That were a flight far more shameful than even that to which we have now been compelled. Better men than we are, have, either by the fortune of arms, or overpowered by numbers, left the field of battle to their enemies; but the man, who, to avoid pain and calamity, or from a slavish regard to the praise or censures of men, gives up the contest, is overcome by his own cowardice. If we are to seek for death, that death ought to be in action, not in the deserting of action; for it argues baseness to live or to die to ourselves. By adopting thy expedient, all that we can gain is, to get rid of our present difficulties, without either glory to ourselves, or benefit to our country. In hopes, then, that we shall some time or other be of service to our country, both thou and I, methinks, are bound to preserve life. Whenever these hopes shall have altogether abandoned us, death, if sought for, will readily be found." Plutarch in Cleomene.

Traits such as these place a character in a strong light. With such sentiments, it is difficult to suppose this prince to have been the unfeeling tyrant, which some authors have described.—At last, it is true, he fell by his own hand; but that was in the transport of despair. His cool judgment had condemned the rash deed.

the highest esteem; lamenting that he had not assisted him more effectually, and promising to take the first opportunity of replacing him on the throne of his ancestors. This probably he might have effected; but, dying soon afterwards, he was succeeded by his son Ptolemy Philopator; a prince totally the reverse of what his father had been; immersed in dissoluteness; and governed altogether by an insolent and rapacious minister. Cleomenes had too great a spirit to brook the indignities, which he experienced from this vicious court. Ptolemy's ministers marked his resentment, and, enraged that he should dare to be displeased, they added insult to injury, till, fired by his wrongs, this unhappy prince would have revenged them by open violence; but he perished in the wild attempt, after he had lived about three years in Egypt³⁴. B O O K
IV.
Sect. 2.

Sparta, which till this period had never suffered the fate of a captive city, could not have fallen into the power of a more merciful conqueror. Antigonus³⁵, rather a protector than an enemy, would not permit the least injury to be offered to any part of the city, or inhabitants, but contented himself with re-establishing the jurisdiction of the Ephori, as it had been before the time of Cleomenes. He even showed a tender regard for the interests of that unfortunate prince; for, observing that the Spartans, by whom he was affectionately remembered, could not bear the thought of another king whilst he survived, Generous
treatment of
the Spartans
by Antigonus.

³⁴ See Plutarch in Cleomene.

³⁵ See Polyb. L. ii. c. 70. & L. v. c. 9.

B O O K

IV.

Sect. 2.

He is called
home by an
incurſion of
barbarians,

deſeats the
invaders;

Antigonus complied with their wiſhes, and left the throne open as he found it. He ſtaid in Sparta but three days, being recalled home by a ſudden emergency, which demanded his immediate preſence. So critical was the fate of Cleomenes. Had the latter deferred fighting for three days longer, Antigonus muſt have withdrawn his troops, and Cleomenes been relieved.

It had been, as we have already obſerved, a favorite maxim with Antigonus, notwithſtanding he had of late been induced to depart from it, “that
“ foreign conqueſts were not to be obtained but at
“ the expenſe of the happineſs of his own kingdom.” And it is remarkable, how fully the laſt ſcenes of his life verified his obſervation. Encouraged by his abſence, a multitude of Illyrians, and the barbarous nations adjoining, had made an inroad into Macedon, and committed dreadful deſtroyation. And it was the account of this irruption that had haſtened the return of Antigonus into his own dominions. The barbarians, who had as yet found no force able to oppoſe them, heard of his approach undiſmayed; and even advanced to meet him, in full confidence of victory. The battle was deciſive againſt them: but it was alſo fatal to the Macedonians. The king, by the violent exertion of his voice during the engagement, burſt a blood-veſſel; and the large effuſion of blood, that followed, having thrown him into a languiſhing ſtate, he died” in a few days, univerſally lamented

Burſts a blood-
veſſel,
and dies,
lamented by
all Greece.

” OLYMP. CXXXIX. 4. BEFORE CHRIST 220. See Polyb. L. ii. c. 70.

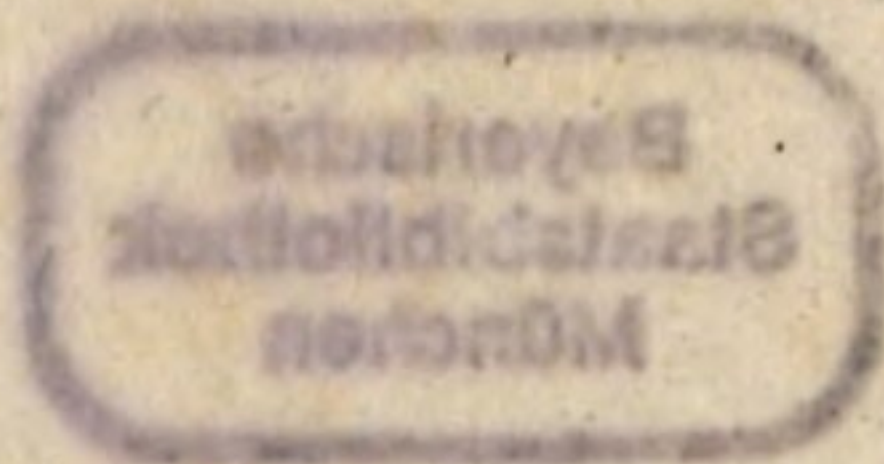
for his great military abilities, but much more for his exalted virtues, and the noble generosity of soul by which he had been distinguished³⁷. Among many instances of his humane disposition, the manner, in which he used his victories, is particularly recorded. For he seemed to forget, that the vanquished had ever been his foes; his first care was, to soften their lot, and, as far as consisted with the public safety, to restore to them those privileges and enjoyments, of which other conquerors would have had a pride in depriving them. In what manner he behaved to the Spartans, we have seen. And such, Polybius informs us, was their veneration for him, though the captor of their virgin-city, that far from considering him as an enemy, by whom they had been humbled, they proclaimed him in the general assembly of Greece their *benefactor* and *preserver*³⁸. He reigned but sixteen years, too short a period for the happiness of his kingdom and of mankind.

Antigonus certainly appears to have been one of the ablest princes that ever sat on the throne of Macedon; to him probably was owing that vigor, which the Macedonians, after all their losses, were enabled to exert in the succeeding reign; and, had his example been imitated by his successors, it may fairly be conjectured, that the fate of Macedon, if not prevented, had been at least not so rapid and humiliating. In his last hours he took care to confirm

He appoints
Philip to suc-
ceed him.

³⁷ Polyb. L. ii. c. 70. It appears from Polybius, that in military reputation he was one of the first among the princes of his time.

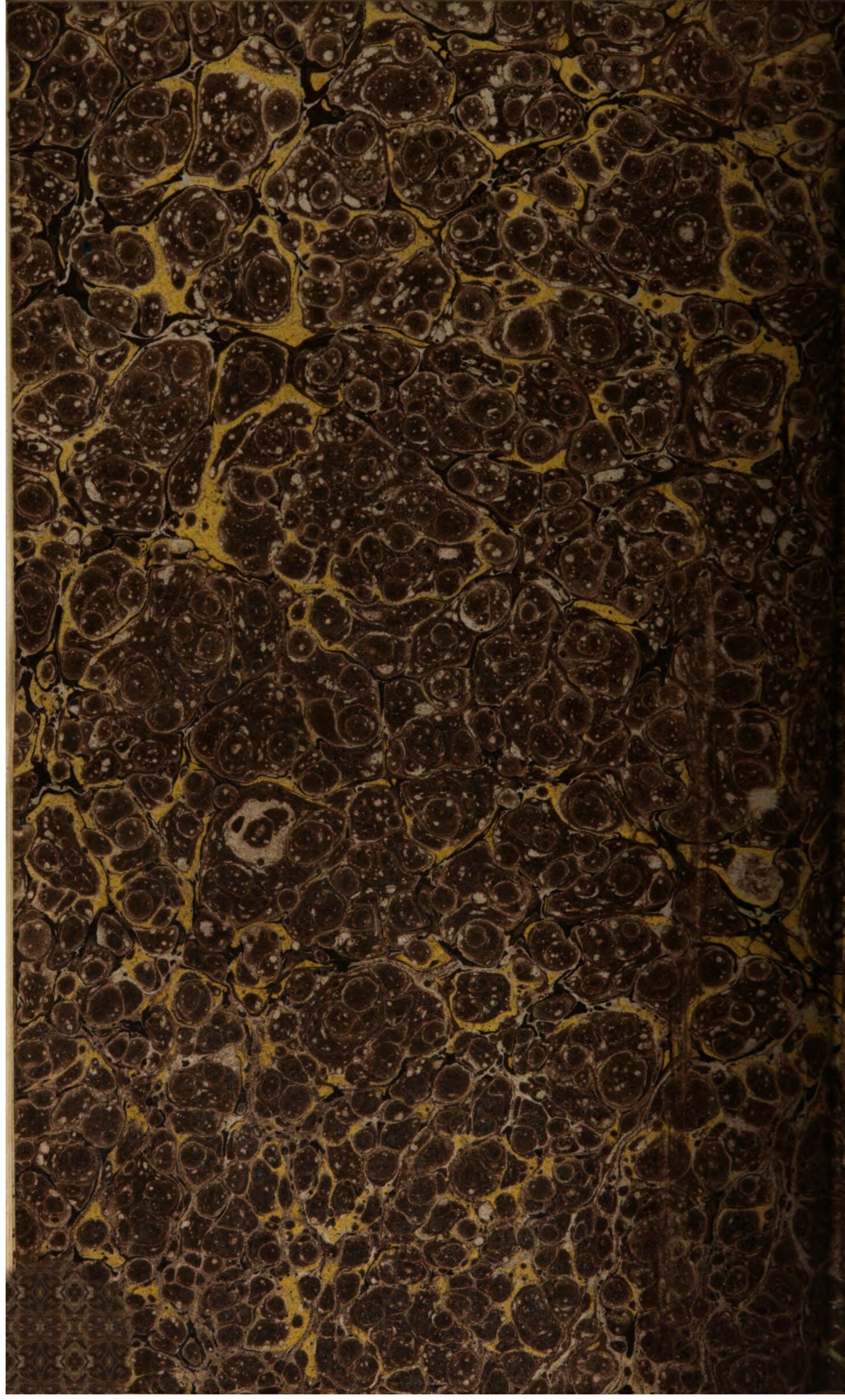
³⁸ Εὐεργέτην καὶ σωτῆρα. — See Polyb. L. ix. c. 30.

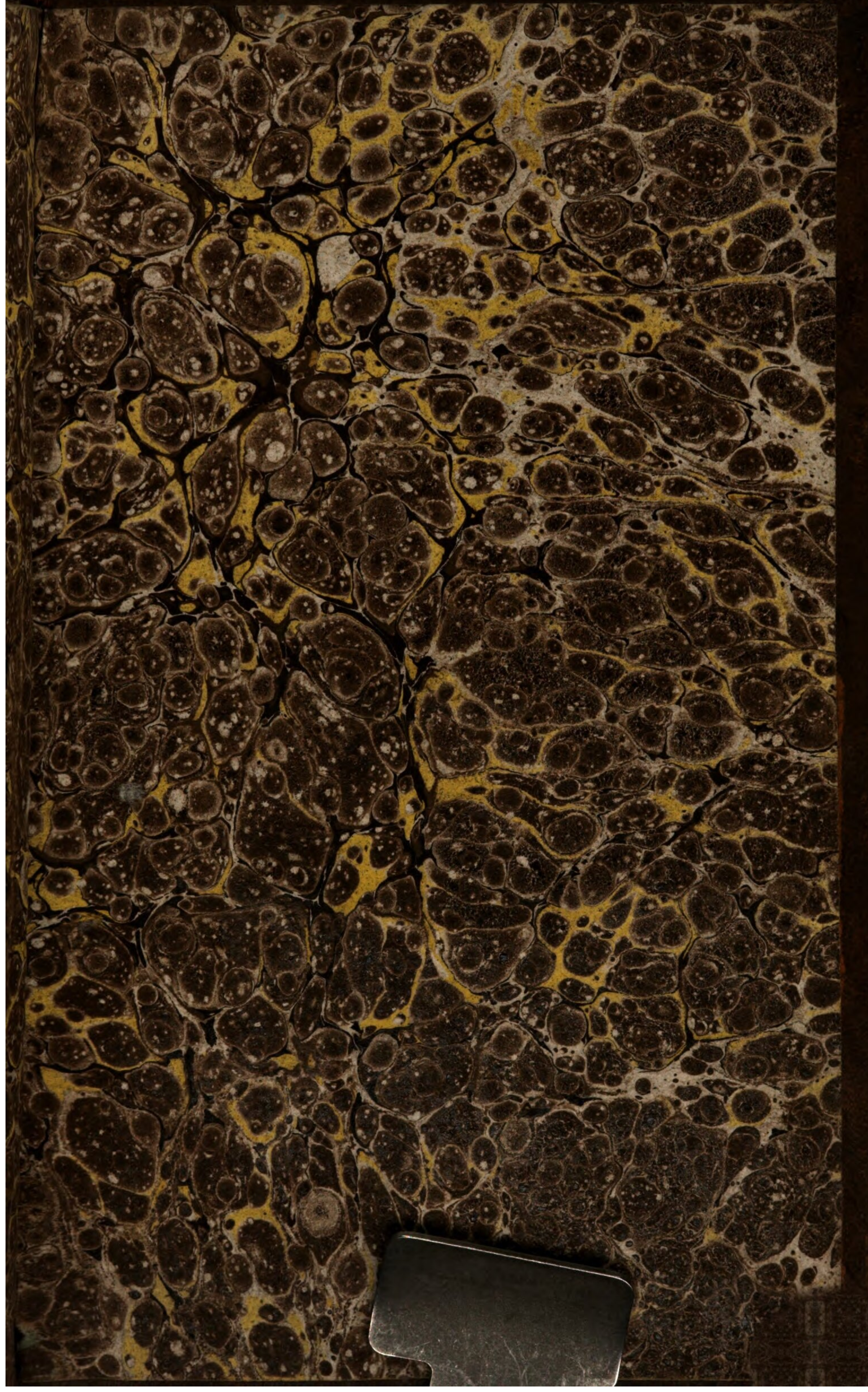


B O O K the appointment he had already made, of Philip,
 IV. the son of Demetrius, to succeed him on the throne³⁹.
 Sect. 2.

³⁹ Antigonus is known in history by the name of *Dofon*, *the promiser*. He acquired this name, Plutarch tells us, from his facility in promising and his slowness in performing. But, if by this we are to understand, that he either was avaricious, or that he employed that low expedient, to which shallow politicians have often recourse, of increasing the number of their dependents by holding out alluring promises, which they never propose to fulfil, we shall conceive of him a very different character from what is ascribed to him by Polybius, who lived near his time. Possibly, at his accession, he had the importunities of self-interested courtiers to contend with; and from his natural facility of temper, and the difficulty of his situation, he was often under a necessity to put off, in the gentlest manner he could, expectations, which were not to be gratified but at the expense of the public weal. And thence, perhaps, was the name given to him by some of the witlings of the age; and, as the points of satire are more faithfully remembered than actions of well-earned praise, Antigonus retains to this day the name of *Dofon*.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.





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